WHY ARE LORINO AND SIRENIKI SO DIFFERENT?

EXPLORING COMMUNITIES THROUGH FESTIVALS, LANGUAGE USE,

AND SUBSISTENCE PRACTICES IN CONTEMPORARY CHUKOTKA

By

Oxana Yashchenko

RECOMMENDED:

Sveta Yamin-Pasternak, Committee Member

Patrick Plattet, Committee Member

Peter Schweitzer, Advisory Committee Chair

David Koester, Chair, Department of Anthropology

APPROVED:

Todd Sherman, Dean, College of Liberal Arts

John Eichelberger, Dean of the Graduate School

29 April 2013

Date

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A

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By

Oxana Yashchenko, B.A.

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Abstract

Based on research in Chukotka, Russian Far East, this thesis focuses on the contemporary predicaments of native sports, public festivals, language practices, and marine mammal subsistence in the communities of Sireniki and Lorino. Through a social-historical contextualization of ethnographic data, it explores possible reasons for the differences found to exist between those villages. In the years of the post-Soviet transition, Lorino emerged as a vivacious community where successful sea-mammal hunters formed the core of its social and cultural hearth. At the time the research was conducted, this characterization appeared in a striking contrast to Sireniki, known to have been a model community in the late Soviet era.

This work attempts to explain how Lorino and Sireniki got to where they are today. The insights gained from ethnographic fieldwork and library materials points to the legacy of the Soviet state-induced relocations, post-Soviet reorganization of sea mammal hunting, cultural history, and local leadership patterns. Examined in a comparative light, this constellation of factors helps understand how differently Lorino and Sireniki have developed since the end of the Soviet Union.

to Chukotka and its true masters

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Acknowledgment

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Chapter 1. Theoretical framework

1.1 Introduction

During the time I lived and worked in Chukotka, first as a schoolteacher and then as a program coordinator in various agencies, I got to know and visited a number of coastal communities, where I witnessed and participated in several cultural celebrations. Among these communities were Lorino and Sireniki. Both villages, with similar populations and infrastructure, are situated on the Chukchi Peninsula and their livelihoods depend on the harvesting of marine mammals. Predominantly indigenous peoples inhabit them, who experienced the Soviet state relocation policies in the middle of the twentieth century with its particular consequences. Later, both Sireniki and Lorino faced the social and economic challenges resulting from the new state of the Russian Federation.

The historical data from the Soviet period reports the relatively stable prosperity of indigenous peoples in the new economic conditions of the 1970s, even though state relocation already occurred. It also recounts common soviet activities that bring people together, discussions of the five-year plans during party meetings, and detailed accounts of the cultural life documented by soviet ethnographers. This rather homogenous representation of all communities within the region contrasts sharply with what I was witnessing in Chukotka. In my early visits to Lorino and Sireniki, I observed that the residents of the first appeared to have more community cohesion, activity and passion during various celebrations and regional sports competitions. They organized public cultural gatherings and native Arctic sport tournaments in the village. They appeared to maintain their Chukchi language and identity. Residents of Sireniki, on the other hand, did not perform well in regional events and their community life did not show much festivity. Participant observation in Lorino at festivals and sporting events focused my research directly on the marine mammal hunters, who created these social environments and

constituted the cultural foundation of the village, referred to as the "hearth" of their community. In contrast, hunters were treated only as meat providers in Sireniki, despite having similar ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Having observed this difference, I questioned why hunters in Lorino became the hearth after the Soviet collapse and why the residents of Sireniki did not, since they both had the same Soviet history. My review of newspaper archives displayed an unexpected finding – Sireniki back in 1988 resembled contemporary Lorino in 2011. At first glance, the situation seemed paradoxical, but it became more understandable after my fieldwork in 2011.

All that I have witnessed, experienced, read, and heard while living in Chukotka prior to my studies at UAF fueled the questions for my graduate research. Are Sireniki and Lorino really different? How different are they? To shed some light on these questions, I conducted a comparative study of the cultural festivals and native sports, language situations, and sea mammal hunting that occurred in each community. Once the comparative analysis of the chosen dimensions revealed some clear contrasts between contemporary Sireniki and Lorino, another critical question emerged: why are these communities so different now? What triggered these two geographically and historically similar settlements to manifest such contrasts along my selected indicators of community well-being?

A review of ethnographic literature on Chukotka suggests that there has not been a recent study that analyzes social and cultural institutions in a comparative perspective. This research addresses this gap while illuminating the significance of sea mammal hunting activities in maintaining language and cultural practices, an active social life of the residents, and overall community well-being. By exploring how sea mammal hunting and its connected social and cultural institutions have developed in the post-Soviet period, this research unveils some of the consequences of the Soviet-era relocations on Sireniki and Lorino. Contemporary Lorino has become the host of several former settlements that were inhabited by Chukchi who were mostly kinsmen. By contrast, Sireniki, an ancient maritime Yupik settlement,

was a relocation site for previously nomadic groups of Chukchi reindeer herders who were forced to settle there. Today's Sireniki still has two major native communities. Lorino and Sireniki are also both inhabited by ethnic Russians, although the latter represents a fraction of the Soviet-era newcomer population.

This thesis compares the domains of sea mammal hunting, cultural festivals, native sports, and language use and retention in the two villages. In addition to their more visible nature, these domains appealed to my interests as a teacher, a Chukotka resident, and coordinator of various cultural programs carried out by regional and state agencies. It is possible that other social domains, such as health, housing, or income would not reveal the same patterns, resulting in Lorino and Sireniki appearing not that dissimilar. The advantage of focusing on the village gatherings, festivals, and sports tournaments is that these are the domains that local residents themselves use to evaluate community well-being. An opinion I encountered frequently in Chukotka is that the prominence of the above-mentioned practices in a village indicates that the people there have a good life.

Chapter 2 provides background information on my research settings, their local and relocation history, and significant events within communities. It also examines an available literature, so that some authors represent the 19th century, others the 20th century and several ethnographers publish their work in the 21st century, and at the same time represents their own approaches to the indigenous peoples of Russia.

Festivals and sports practices are analyzed in Chapter 3 with additional information about cultural ceremonies and public festivals and their relation to sea mammal hunting activity. The "Beringia" skin boat race, "Nadezhda" sled dog race, and "Whale Day" celebrations are the main comparative cases for the given case studies in this chapter. We also provide an example of the traditional Chukchi celebration.

Chukchi and Yupik native language use is described in Chapter 4, which presents it from the theoretical prospective of different levels: state, group and

individual. The spatial effect of the language use during marine mammals harvesting, in the hunting camps, communities and maintenance is examined in Lorino and Sireniki where the connection between language and hunting experiences overlap.

Chapter 5 presents sea mammal hunting, its role in the resident's lives, and compares it as both a subsistence and market activity. It also describes their management at the community level by comparing two marine mammal hunters associations and their role in Lorino and Sireniki – one consisting of Maritime Chukchi hunters and the other with Yupik.

The comparative analysis of all four chosen domains and their relation with sea mammal hunting revealed additional manifestations of existing differences between the two communities: demography, geography and cultural history. Local leadership and the different histories of State-induced relocations emerge as the central causes for the visible contrasts that are manifest in the role of sea mammal hunter in the two villages.

1.2 Methods

This research is tightly connected to the people of Chukotka, with whom I established deep friendships both before coming to UAF and during my fieldwork. Gift exchange, hospitality and mutual respect keep us in touch even now. Some of the primary assertions and notes that form the basis of this thesis are derived from the several years of my life spent in that part of Russia. As an introduction to this section on methods of investigation I present my Chukotka background, in order to describe the reasons I started the given research.

I graduated from the Stavropol State Pedagogical Institute with the equivalent of a B.A. in Education in 2003, and after working for one year in the city of Stavropol, I was looking for a better place to live. At that time, the new governor of Chukotka, Roman Abramovich, was investing his own money in bringing back so-called specialists – teachers, doctors and engineers – to the region after they had left

during the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the subsequent social and economic collapse. Around two-thirds of the Chukotkan population left the Northern Far East region between 1991-1992 and many social service institutions had been abandoned. Abramovich paid for our one-way ticket, provided accommodations, and gave us triple-salary contracts immediately (usually people earn it after five years of service) and a stipend of $1000 per year for three years, in order to attract educated and qualified individuals to the environment of the Extreme North.

Novoe Chaplino, a mainly Yupik village, is situated in picturesque Tkachen Bay, and became my home. I arrived there in August 2004. Its population was about 450 villagers, of which 100 were K-12 students with whom I worked as the teacher of English and as the so-called *organizator* (organizer), the person at Russian schools who is responsible for organizing school celebrations such as Army day, Teachers day, Victory Day, etc. Not only did I spend time at school with students, but I also established contacts with their parents and with villagers throughout the community. Neighbors invited me on some road trips to remote sites on the tundra, where unobtrusive tutorials and stories on proper behavior, good spots for subsistence hunting and gathering, and the history of Novoe Chaplino and its relocation emerged. We enjoyed fresh whale blubber on the tundra, or fresh fried meatballs made of the harvested grey whale. The stories and support, which people from Chaplino provided during my first year in Chukotka, helped me to adapt faster and understand better the life of the northerner. The students, who I was mostly comfortable with, shared their perspectives of life in Chukotka. We became close friends and spent a lot of time doing school projects or being outside together.

In 2005, the principal of the Provideniya School invited me to work as the teacher of English and the assistant principal on social and cultural affairs. I moved to Provideniya and stayed there until 2007. In the fall of 2007, I became the coordinator of educational programs for the Nature Ethnic Park “Beringia” for two years. This position broadened my ethnographic experience, and I began to learn

more about the ethnic history of the Chukchi Peninsula, its people, traditions, local subsistence and read my first ethnographic material *Pust' govoryat nashi stariki: rasskazy aziatskikh eskimosov-yupik = Chukotkam Iupigita Un,Ipamsiugit. Zapisi 1975-1987 gg [Let Our Elders Speak: Stories of the Asiatic Eskimos]* by Igor Krupnik (2000). Cruise ships with tourists came to Provideniya every summer and local agencies organized performances combining native and Russian culture, where I worked as an interpreter-guide. Foreign researches who came to Chukotka in the summer gave me some insight into the field of anthropology, and I became their research assistant during their fieldwork.

My next move in 2009 brought me to Anadyr, the administrative center of Chukotka, where I worked in the Department for Culture, Sports, Tourism and Information Policy of the Chukotka Region. Public festivals, sled dog and reindeer races, as well as creating an Internet site became part of my responsibility until summer 2010. Specifically, participation in the Chukotka sled dog race "Nadezhda," skin-boat race "Beringia," and the Governor's Cup of the Native Youth Olympics allowed me to experience the highest administrative level of organization of these events.

Given my personal background from Novoe Chaplino, Provideniya and Anadyr, I feel confident in my ability to be able to draw some conclusions about my two case studies, their cultural practices, language situation, and native sports participation at the village, district and region levels. My first introduction to the people of Lorino occurred in 2008 as part of the "Ergav" and "Beringia" cultural festivals in Lavrentiya, the center of Chukotsky District. During one of the days of the festival we drove to Lorino, situated nearby, for a few hours. The four days journey to Sireniki began a week later, and I spent more time meeting people and observing the social and cultural environment. Those two short visits were initially impressive, presenting visible similarities and differences between the two communities, and, later raised the research question of the fundamental cause of the

dissimilarity that exists between the villages of Lorino and Sireniki in their ethnic celebrations.

Since this research was not on the communities of Chukotka that I was more familiar with, participant observation became the primary method utilized during my fieldwork in the summer of 2011 in Lorino, Chukotsky District and Sireniki, Provideniya District. It took no less than three days to get to Lorino from Anadyr, then 26 days of fieldwork and two days to leave the village. It was more difficult to get to Sireniki due to the fact that there is no road and travelling by ferry is a requirement. In 2011, I spent five days waiting for good weather conditions to cross Provideniya Bay by boat, and then a big truck delivered me to my destination in four hours. Fieldwork took 12 days and the boat ride back to Provideniya was only one hour.

I tried to be involved in community events and be part of the daily life. My previous job as teacher and the presence of former students helped to establish initial contacts with families within each village. Later, I felt more comfortable in conducting several semi-structured interviews and asked local residents to fill out language questionnaires. Everyday tea talks or just meeting people allowed me to address questions at the center of my research about community cohesion, the frequency of cultural events and their initiatives, about the use of native languages, and the desire by local residents to leave or stay in the given community. Oral sources on hunting sites provided more insight into the question of cultural strength. Participation in the local ethnic celebrations allowed me to look deeper into the processes of organizing, preparing and implementing the Lorino and Sireniki local festivals. Sea mammal hunters of Lorino and Sireniki hosted and fed me at their hunting sites, shared their time and knowledge, and let me be the part of their activities, talks, concerns and plans.

While writing this thesis, I kept in touch with a number of Chukotka residents who have become my friends. Shortly after my fieldwork the internet came to Lorino and Sireniki, making it easier to maintain contact. Just as they were

during fieldwork, people continued to be generous with their time, providing me with updates and giving advice during the analysis and writing phase. Many of those calls were initiated from the Chukotka end, when people felt they had important news and wanted to share it. I continue to exchange letters and gifts with many community members through mail. These methods of communication cannot replace direct participation in the daily activities and social events, but they do provide some means of taking part in the lives of the residents of the two communities.

1.3 Literature review

1.3.1 Chukotka ethnography and history

The literature and media sources for this research vary not only in time period and political epoch, but also in ethnographers' and participants' background: from exiled revolutionist to Italian filmmaker, from early Soviet anthropologists to average Chukotka dwellers, from foreign researchers to local Chukotkan leaders. The time frame of the chosen literature begins in late 1890 during Tsarist Russia when Waldemar Bogoraz (1904) conducted his first full ethnography on the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik, which is considered to be the most complete monograph about these peoples. Later, the pioneers of Soviet anthropology went to the field with their particular interest in either the Chukchi or Yupik, or one of the many other ethnicities of the Soviet Far East, focusing and reporting on the victory of industrialization over natives who live in the outskirts of the country. More Russian and international researches visited Chukotka after 1991 and focused on the consequences of the decline of the Soviet Union on the social, economic and cultural spheres of the life of its peoples.

Arctic anthropologists, such as Waldemar Bogoraz (1904), Vdovin (1965), Dikov (1974), Rudenko (1965), Dneprovskiy and Lopatin (2012), and Sukhorukova (2012) witnessed and reconstructed the social and cultural lives of the Chukchi and Yupik in Chukotka in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as prosperous cultures

of sea mammal hunters and reindeer herders in the area known as Beringia. They provide initial and crucial evidence on the fact that the indigenous peoples of Chukotka, who lived in small settlements along the Bering and Chukchi Seas coasts, built their communities on kinship, where the sea mammal hunter's boat crew and captain were the main social elements (Chlenov and Krupnik 2012; Kulikov 2002; Kerttula 2000). Hence, many of the anthropologists made notes about calendar and subsistence festivals accompanied by the sport tournaments and dances in their investigations, which are very crucial and meaningful for the current research (Bogoraz 1904; Krupnik 2003; Tagrina-Weinstein 2012). Ethnographers emphasized that people spoke several local languages that time and in our language questionnaires, some informants claimed being bilingual or trilingual (Chukchi-Russian, Yupik-Russian, Chukchi/Yupik-Russian or Russian-Chukchi, Russian-Yupik). This coincides with the past, when most local residents were multilingual in order to trade with neighboring Yukagirs, Evenki and Chuvan or with American and Norwegian traders and whalers (Krupnik 2003; Vakhtin 1998). Moreover, Nikolay Vakhtin (1998) in his article "Endangered Languages in Northeast Siberia: Siberian Yupik and other Languages of Chukotka," describes the Yupik, Chukchi, Kerek, Koryak and Chuvanski groups of language, and assumes and provides historical evidence that the lingua franca in Chukotka is based on the Chukchi language.

The era of the Soviet Union brought new realities into the social, cultural, economic and political realms of life in the Russian Arctic, including Chukotka. They first restructured subsistence activities and the traditional social organization of sea mammal hunters and reindeer herders into new soviet labor organization units known as *artel* (the social scheme based on skin-boat crew), later into *kolkhoz* or *kollektivnoe khozyaistvo* (collective economy), and then into *sovkhoz* or *sovmestnoe khozyaistvo* (cooperative economy)(Vdovin 1965; Gurvitch 1966; Kerttula 2000; Schindler 1996; Kulikov 2002). For the purpose of having successful and profitable subsistence enterprises, the Soviet government moved tiny settlements into the bigger communities under the pretense that it would help Soviet supply policy

(Holzlehner 2009; Nielsen 2007; Kerttula 2000; Schindler 1996). Thus, the era of Soviet state relocation began, which had the further consequence of moving people away from their rich hunting grounds, kinship sites, property and goods. The echo of this relocation and particular cases tremendously affected Lorino and Sireniki and each community's well-being (Krupnik and Chlenov 2007; Chlenov and Krupnik 2012; Kerttula 2000; Vakhtin 1998). The ongoing loss of the native languages was the result of soviet federal policy, when employees in Moscow made the Russian language obligatory in schools and administrative buildings (Schweitzer and Gray 2000; Kerttula 2000; Sirina 2006). Therefore, if a native person wanted to have a management job, then it was mandatory to speak Russian. The highly skilled sea mammal hunters and reindeer herders, having lost their hunting grounds during the relocation, became employed in low paying jobs and were highly dependent on state-furnished funding and subsidies. In this regard, the notion of *izhdiventsy* (dependents/spongers) stuck to the Chukchi and Yupik despite the fact that they worked hard in marine mammal harvesting and reindeer herding, and did it for state profit (Sudkamp 2005). The state government also only allowed locals to represent their Chukchi and Eskimo ethnicity through dancing performances, which later became the impetus of this research, where public celebrations were initially chosen as the primary domain of investigation.

Waldemar Bogoraz (1904), Innokenty Vdovin (1965), Vladilen Leontiev (1973), Iliya Gurvich (1966), Georgiy Menovshchikov (1977), Anna Sirina (2006), Lyudmila Bogoslovskaya (2011) and Alexander King (2011) all raised questions about native cultures. Bogoraz (1904), Bogoslovskaya (2003, 2011), and Alexander King (2011) stressed the tangible relationship between nature and culture, traditional subsistence and the beliefs of the Chukchi, Yupik, Koryak and Evenki. The current residents of Lorino and Sireniki still demonstrate and rely on these essential and century-old relationships: they believe and worship the sea/land/underground spirits, harvest big marine mammals and consume them for food, clothing, tools and sometimes organize thanksgiving celebrations. Other ethnographers such as

Innokenty Vdovin (1965), Vladilen Leontiev (1973) and Iliya Gurvitch (1966) described the indigenous peoples of Chukotka in a comparative way and from a more Soviet perspective – their main arguments were based on the positive influence of the Soviet State to the people in its Arctic outskirts praising the results of industrialization: "for the period of 50 years of Soviet power, deep changes took place in the economic, cultural and ideological life in Chukotka…this could happen due to correct forms and methods of transforming the primitive societies into socially developing societies" (Leontiev 1973:4). Notably, some villagers in Sireniki still recall memories of their busy and interesting life during the era of *kolkhoz* and Lorino people still use the communal ice-cellar for meat storage, which was built during the *kolkhoz* time period.

Anna Kerttula (2000) in her book *Antlers on the Sea: The Yup'ik and Chukchi of the Russian Far East* first describes Chukchi and Yupik peoples living within one community after the relocation, and represents all aspects of life in Sireniki in 1989-91. In 2011, the year of my fieldwork, the two former cultural nations were not trade partners from the tundra and the coast anymore, as they used to be before the state relocation in the 1950s, but were forcibly brought up to live and work together. Several of Kerttula's accounts were evident during my fieldwork in Sireniki, where separation between people of the sea and the tundra people still occurred.

Michael Koskey (2003) in his PhD research *Cultural activity and market enterprise: a circumpolar comparison of reindeer herding communities at the end of the 20th century* conducted part of his field work in Chukotka, and Lorino in particular. His research is very important because it highlights the fact that reindeer herding is still a significant part of Lorino, and that both Reindeer and Maritime Chukchi live there. Villagers differentiate between the two groups based on their professional occupation: *olenevody* (herders) or *okhotniki* (hunters). Barter and market relationships exist both on the personal and professional level. He also

writes about the municipal enterprise "Keper," which, in the time of his research, comprised reindeer herding and sea mammal hunting.

"Post Soviet structures, path-dependency and passivity in Chukotkan coastal villages" by Bent Nielsen (2007) describes Yupik culture in the community of Novoe Chaplino, the place of my residency from 2004 - 2005. In his paper he also stresses the dependency of native hunters from the region on the state economy, as well as the complete loss of local governance – where the boat captain did not make the main decisions on subsistence use, but instead ethnic Russians or Ukrainians did. Since his research in 2001, native leaders have become chairs of the hunting associations, but it is still true that they depend on the region and state for financial support for the benefit of their people. Similar stories as described by Nielsen will be presented later.

Lassy Heininen and Chris Southcott (2010), Oran Young (2010), Chanda Meek et al (2008) and Anna Sirina (2006) raise questions regarding local governance implementation in the Arctic. Their discussions focus around the notion of "governance," which Young illustrates as "a social function centered on efforts to steer human actions toward collective outcomes that are beneficial to society and away from harmful outcomes" (Young 2010:4). Young's research is reflected in the discussion of two local sea mammal-hunting associations from Sireniki and Lorino, and their attempts to govern at the job level, community, district, region, state and even international levels. Meek et al (2008) explores the management of polar bear and walrus on both sides of the Bering strait and her focus in more on the dichotomy of state vs. local governance. Debra Schindler (1996), being part of the research team of the INSPOR - International Northern Sea Route Program and its project "Social and Cultural Impact on Indigenous Peoples of Expanded Use of the Northern Sea Route," wrote an overview on the governance and ethnic issues in Chukotka. Patty Gray (2005) also investigated indigenous governance vs. state governance and illuminated the post-Soviet changes in Chukotka.

Canadian anthropologist Niobe Thompson (2008) worked with Chukotka newcomers and as a visual anthropologist in the communities of Vankarem, Novoe Chaplino and Kanchalan. His work, especially from the first two villages, describes in detail sea mammal hunting, and his book *Settlers on the Edge* is about non-indigenous peoples who came to the region for jobs and stayed to live in Chukotka. Some of these settlers became engaged in sea mammal hunting and there were/are some famous Russian and Ukrainian hunters in Sireniki, but not in Lorino. Anna Sirina (2010) in her recent research *Ot sovkhoza k rodovoy obshchine: sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie transformatsii u narodov Severa v kontse XX veka* [From the collective farm to the kin association – social and economical transformations among the peoples of the North at the end of the XX century] details the origin of the obschina movement and compares the Sakha, Irkutsk and Magadan regions in this realm. She describes the process of separation, which indigenous peoples of those regions undertook in order to be apart from the state enterprises and bring the kinship and the family as the key element into the maintain of traditional subsistence. In the case of Chukotka, I compare the activities of two hunting associations and tell how they transformed the word 'kin' into 'neighbor' as part of the state relocation in the 20th century.

Tobias Holzlehner (2009), Alexia Bloch (2005), Mikhail Chlenov and Igor Krupnik (2012) write about relocation and the further consequences of both forced and voluntary movements. They discuss the dependence of people on places for successful traditional subsistence, leadership and language use comparing old and new sites. Chlenov and Krupnik narrate the last voluntary move of Yupik from Old Chaplino to Uelkal, Holzlehner focuses more on the maritime Chukchi people on the Chukchi Peninsula, and Alexia Bloch conducted her research with the Evenki people in the Krasnoyarsky region. Holzlehner (2009) describes several closed sites like Nuniamo, where people came back for subsistence purposes and tried to rebuild local infrastructure on the small scale. During my own fieldwork, we visited the closed settlements of Imtuk near Sireniki and Akkani near Lorino. In the case of

Lorino, sea mammal hunters built small cabins and bring their families to pick berries and mushrooms, and help with cooking during busy walrus hunting periods. Sireniki people go to Imtuk, which is located on a lake behind one of the hill and use it as fishing and hiking destinations. Hunters also use Imtuk as a layover for lunch when out on the sea or while on the Kurupka River for fishing, and may stay there overnight.

Local economy and subsistence in Chukotka villages is described in detail in Kertulla (2000), Zelensky (1997), Ainana (1999), Schindler (1996), Vdovin (1965), Leontiev (1973), and represents Reindeer Chukchi culture concentrated in the mainland, and Maritime Chukchi along with Yupik cultures situated along the coast of Chukchi Peninsula. Zelensky (1997) and Ainana (1999) in collaboration with the US National Park Service and the Shared Beringia Heritage Program give rich description of all coastal communities of the Chukchi Peninsula, their geography, subsistence and history where sea mammal hunting is the main activity. Sveta Yamin-Pasternak (2007) describes the recent addition of mushrooms to the diet of Chukchi and Yupik.

McComber (2011), Bogoslovskaya (2003), Nefedkin (2003), Zelensky (1997), along with Nielson (2007) and Chlenov and Krupnik (2012) question the role of local leadership in the life of the Inuit in Canada, and Chukchi and Yupik in Russia. Mikhail Zelensky (1997) gives an example of the cultural necessity of harvesting bowhead whales for Chukchi and Yupik peoples, and how the latter obtained quotas from the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in 1998 after a successful scientific collaboration with their colleagues at the North Slope Borough Department of Wildlife Management in Barrow, Alaska. Igor Krupnik (2003) and Chlenov and Krupnik (2012) describe stories of relocation, culture practices and festivals and parallel them with the role of the boat captain. I find these two publications extremely applicable in answering the research questions I pose.

The linguists Trond Trosterud (2011), Leena Huss and Anna-Riita Lindgren (2011), Zagidullin et al (2011), Michael Dunn (2000) and Nikolay Vakhtin (1998)

focus their research on language issues. A few of them provide the theoretical background for understanding society-language relations. Others argue about the necessity of using digital technology in order to overcome the "digital divide" (Soms 2011: 3). Language loss was one of the issues that parents in their 50s, grandparents and school teachers all raised during this research. The charts presented in Chapter 4 are based on the language questionnaires we created with Dr. Mark Sicoli. They provide information on language and gender, language and occupation, language and technology, and language and user's generation.

1.3.2 Studies of community well-being in the Arctic

Visual anthropologists and documentary film makers Aleksey Vakhrushev (2005, 2009, 2011) and Carlos Cascas (2008) depict in their films the hard labor carried out by the Maritime and Reindeer Chukchi peoples in Chukotka in the harsh environment of continental and coastal Chukotka. Their films serve as a visual source of information about traditional subsistence, native cultures and languages. Both filmmakers worked in Lorino.

Additional research about Arctic is presented in two major reports – AHDR – the Arctic Human Development Report (AHDR 2004) and its follow-up ASI – Arctic Social Indicators (Larsen et al 2010). Two working groups consisting of about 100 contributors made a fundamental effort in bringing together Arctic data and making the first full assessment of human well-being in that part of the world. AHDR is more descriptive and authors summarize data on health; heritage and culture; indigenous peoples; local communities; law and policy; and sustainable development. The working group of the ASI came up with six indicators categories based on the AHDR and UN Human Development Index (HDI 2012). These indicator categories are: Health and Population; Material Well-being in the Arctic; Education; Cultural Well-being and Cultural Vitality; Contact with Nature; and Fate Control.

Randa Gahine et al (2003) state: "Indicators are a tool to put more information into the hands of more people, information that can inspire action and

lead to better decision-making" (Gahin et al 2003:66512). Joan Nymand Larsen and Gail Fondahl (Larsen et al 2010) wrote about the necessity of using particular indicators that will help with tracking changes in human development in the Arctic.

Three social indicator categories used in the ASI study warrant further discussion: Cultural Well-being and Cultural Vitality, Contact with Nature, and Fate Control. In this research my identified social domains serve as comparison tools and provide information regarding the underlying 'inspiration' and resulting actions in the communities of Lorino and Sireniki. All Arctic indicators as well as my chosen domains are interconnected and reciprocally influence each other, and in this way can be used together to explore the heritage of the sea mammal hunting and state relocation.

Peter Schweitzer et al. (2010) defines the Cultural Well-being and Cultural Vitality indicator category by first explaining the basic dimensions of culture, including language, knowledge, communication, spirituality, socio-cultural events, economic and subsistence practices, and social organization. They offer three primary indicators of cultural well-being: language retention, cultural autonomy and belonging. For my research one of the indicators, the Chukchi language, became a domain for further analysis during my initial introduction to the "Beringia" skin boat race in 2008. The Yupik language in Novoe Chaplino, where I was living at the time, was not heard on the street and only women from the local dancing group spoke it while practicing. That year, the Russian head of the Chukotsky District Mikhail Zelensky, whose first language is Chukchi, addressed the people in the Chukchi language during the opening ceremony of the race and the crowd overwhelmingly responded to him.

Contact with Nature is another indicator category defined by Crate et al. (2010). This indicator relates to my research due to the fact that the Chukchi and Yupik highly depend on traditional subsistence. The sea mammal hunters use marine mammal meat as their main source of nutrition, and it is available for a very fair price when compared to other food imported to Chukotka from Europe or Latin

America. Marine animals are not only used for meat. Seal and walrus hides are used to produce winter pants, small skin-boats, and for the large skin-boats necessary for the summer races. Sireniki hunters are very skilled in making *avatakhpaks* (seal floats) that are used when the Japanese orange rubber floats are unavailable. Berry picking, mushroom and herb harvesting takes place during summer and some people take days or weeks off to go gathering – it is an additional part of essential nutrition. Among the indicators measured by Crate et al (2010) is youth involved in traditional subsistence and I use this indicator further in my comparison of the two communities.

The third Arctic Social Indicator category relevant to my work is that of Fate Control. Jens Dahl, Gail Fondahl, Andrey Petrov, and Rune Sverre Fjellheim (2010) place great emphasis on the relevance of this indicator– the last century has impacted almost all indigenous peoples of the Arctic and their rights and abilities to have control over their fate. The authors define fate control as the "people's ability to guide their own destiny" (Dahl et al 2010:129). In my research, I associate this concept with participation in local management agencies and cover it in Chapter 6 within the realm of sea mammal hunting.

Chapter 2. Geographical and historical research settings

2.1 Chukotka autonomous region

Many Russians still do not know where Chukotka is and often mix it up with Kamchatka, which is no wonder: both Chukotka and Kamchatka end with *-tka-*, they are located in the Russian Far East eight time zones away from Moscow, and they are both jokingly known as being populated by bears only – polar bears in Chukotka and brown bears in Kamchatka. In city high schools, those students who occupied the furthest seats from the front of the class were said to be "in Chukotka" or "in Kamchatka." When I flew to Chukotka for the first time I knew a tiny bit about it, and some of my friends warned me that people there live in skin houses, eat fermented food stored underground, and are chased by polar bears on the streets.

Chukotka is situated in the northeastern part of Russia, beyond the eastern end of Siberia. Unlike some people outside the region, residents of Chukotka do not refer to it as Siberia. It has some global points of interest, such as the 180th meridian, which divides the globe into the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. The Northern Arctic Circle crosses the region and world famous polar bear denning habitat is located on Wrangle Island, which is a UNESCO heritage site. In the past, people who lived on the Chukchi Peninsula differentiated their region from the continental land of Chukotka, which they called *materik* (mainland). Throughout Russian history Chukotka has gone through several administrative transformations. It became a separate autonomous region in 1930, then was included in the Magadan region in 1953, and became an autonomously governed region of the Russian Federation again in 1992. Chukotka borders the Sakha Republic, which contains the Magadan region to the west and the Kamchatka region to the south. The waters of the Bering Sea border Chukotka to the east, and the Chukchi and Eastern-Siberian Seas border it to the north. Chukotka has an international water border with United States and is separated from its eastern neighbor by the Bering Strait. Its largest ports are Pevek and Provideniya, with the latter being a deep-water port. Chukotka is therefore

considered a very strategic point in terms of new opportunities for shipping over the Northern Sea Route due to sea ice diminishing in the Arctic.

The territory of Chukotka is approximately 721,500 km^2 [278,572.71 ml^2] and almost half of it is above the Arctic Circle. It has several highlands and lowlands, big rivers such as the Kolyma with its tributaries the Bolshoy and Maliy Anyuy, and three big lakes: Elgygytgyn, Krasnoe and Pekulneiskoe. The climate varies from wet and windy on the coast to dry and calm in interior. The total population of Chukotka is 50,811 (Chukotka population 2012) settled mostly on the coast of the Chukchi Peninsula or along the rivers. Maritime Chukchi and Yupik whale and walrus hunters primarily inhabit the coast, while Reindeer Chukchi residents are concentrated inland along the rivers.

The Russian Cossack explorer Semen Dezhnev made his way to Chukotka in 1648 locating the strait that was named after Danish sailor Vitus Bering. It was part of this expedition that the Russian Tsar received the first description of the Chukchi and Yupik peoples. At the time of his arrival, the Chukchi were engaged in hunting wild reindeer and fur animals, fishing in the rivers and lakes, and only later acquired the necessary skill of herding reindeer. Other Chukchi moved closer to Eskimo populations inhabiting the coast in order to have access to the marine environment and its resources, and eventually adapted to their way of life by engaging more and more in sea mammal hunting and harvesting seals, walruses and whales. Mikhail Kulikov (2002) in his book *Chukotka: zigzag istorii malykh narodov Severa* [Chukotka: the history zigzags of the small numbered peoples of the North] argues that by the end of the 18th century the entire Chukotka population was divided into the nomadic and the settled, essentially the reindeer herders and sea-mammal hunters, where in the first case the family unit was the core organizational unit, while in the second case the boat captain and crew was the main social unit of organization. Bogoraz (1904) and Nefedkin (2003) describe extensive attempts by Russian soldiers to conquer the Chukchi people, and the soldiers also introduced *yasak* (fur tax) to all of the native peoples of Siberia, which they were obliged to pay.

Many historical chronicles tell us that the Chukchi were against *yasak* and resisted it as long as was possible by participating in various battles. A number of wars occurred over a period of 150 years and allowed the Chukchi to keep their independence from Tsarist Russia. In the middle of the 19th century, the Russian Empire established the Anui Fair, in order to have a more peaceful relationship with the warlike Chukchi people (Nefedkin 2003). Bogoraz (1904) documented the ongoing attempts of Russian pastors to convert Chukchi into Christianity. He describes the occasions when Chukchi came to the Anui Fair, voluntary adopted Christianity for the duration of the fair, received all of the goods they needed as a result of their "conversion," and then never followed the religion.

The Soviet government came to Chukotka in the 1920s with their own vision of a proper livelihood, beginning the Sovietization of the Chukotka indigenous peoples. It was during this time period that the *artely*, *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy* were first established as working units. Authorities appropriated the personal labor of native peoples into state possession, made the boat captains who were leaders in pre-Soviet time a part of the boat crew, and took personal reindeer from individual reindeer herders and employed the latter to care for their previously-owned property. At the same time, ethnic Russians or Ukrainians became the main governing elite in Chukotka. Another invasion into the native peoples' lives was the phenomenon of boarding schools, which became a regular practice throughout the Soviet North, and Chukotka was no exception. During 1950-70s the boarding schools took Chukchi and Yupik children from their parents even if a family lived in the same village as the school. This was the case in Sireniki – children lived in a boarding school there and were only allowed to visit their families during school vacations. During Soviet times the whale ship "Zvezdny" brought whales to every coastal village instead of allowing the sea mammal hunters to harvest their own whales, and the consequences were as expected - the maritime Chukchi and Yupik almost lost their essential skills at harvesting these species (Zelensky 1997). The Soviet government promoted the policy of industrialization and provided hunters

with wooden and aluminum boats with engines, so the Yupik or Maritime Chukchi did not have the need to build light and maneuverable skin boats anymore.

When the Soviet Union fell apart in 1991, native people throughout the new Russia Federation faced new challenges: they had to survive without government support in a country where the economy was splitting into pieces. As a result, the so-called *izhdiventsy* (spongers) fed entire communities with marine mammal meat; even Russians and Ukrainians consumed it, because there was almost nothing in the grocery stores. In Chukotka, the Chukchi and Yupik were forced to revitalize their traditional subsistence knowledge and had to learn to hunt the gray whales again, because the "Zvezdny" stopped its activity in 1994 (Zelensky 1997). However, with the new era came new people and new ideas. Enthusiasts in Chukotsky district initiated the skin boat race "Beringia" and sled dog race "Nadezhda" in order to maintain the skills of making skin boats and revive the tradition of having dog teams for transportation. In the middle of the 1990s, some state-run farms (*sovkhozy*) conducted municipal enterprises with less federal and regional support. Later some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) appeared in Chukotka like the "Naukan cooperative," which provided the same services as municipal enterprises, but with the distinct purpose of preserving the sea mammal hunting tradition. The members of that NGO collaborated with Alaskans and went to the International Whaling Commission to obtain bowhead whales quotas (Zelensky 1997). In 2000, maritime Chukchi and Yupik harvested bowhead whales and further separation occurred between indigenous peoples and the rest of the population - they separated from the *sovkhozy* and organized smaller hunters' associations called *obschiny*. Maritime Chukchi and Yupik still harvest gray and bowhead whales, walruses and seal; they perform their ceremonial dances at the village level or go to the Chukotka capital and even abroad; some communities retain the skills of making skin-boats; and people speak their native languages in a small gatherings at somebody's house, or when out on the tundra and out hunting in the sea. The flow of life in today's

Chukotka seems to be very similar in every community, but upon a closer look, certain differences come through.

2.2 The communities of Lorino and Sireniki on the Chukchi Peninsula

In this section, I draw on the timeline of my experience to narrate the description of the two community settings. In 2008 I was an educator working for the so called Nature-Ethnic Park "Beringia" (also responsible for its website), when I heard about the "Beringia" skin boat festival from several friends in Provideniya. Natalia Kalyuzhina, the director of the park at that time, sent me to a cultural celebration in Lavrentiya for 4 working days in order to report on the festivities. We traveled to the destination by the steamboat "Sotnikov" and when we arrived in the Gulf of Lavrentiya, I saw numerous camping tents on the hill facing the water. Later I learned that it was the usual camp site for people from Lorino – there were so many families and siblings that none of the facilities in Lavrentiya would accommodate them. Hence, they cooked their own food and made tea over camp fires. In comparison, the festival participants from the villages of Novoe Chaplino and Yanrakynnot stayed in buildings and went to the local school for their meals. During the skin-boats contests, the Lorino men, women and youth won all of the contests and everybody in the crowd talked about them: "oh uzh ety Lorintsy!" [Look at those people from Lorino!]. That year I only spent a few hours in Lorino, which wasn't enough time to make any sweeping judgments about the community, though it did seem to be very large with numerous streets, and I discovered that one of its 'districts' had the nickname "Shanghai." Later in 2011 I learned that this nickname refers to the fact that it is relatively far away from the center of town and the people who lived there had better houses than most residents. There is also part of the village known as *Nuniamskie doma* (Houses for people from the Nuniamo settlement) that contains houses with animal prints on them, which were built when the people from Nuniamo were relocated to Lorino in 1977 (Krupnik 2007).

Lorino, from Chukchi '*l'ugren*,' means the place "which was seen, or was found" (Ainana 1999:37). People of Lorino had other meanings and shared that the

relatively calm climate and good weather in Lorino was due to the fact that it was 'a good place.' The community is situated on a hill and some people argue that the village looks like a whale when viewed from the sea. Lorino is a part of the Chukotsky district, which occupies the northern part of the Chukchi Peninsula. It is only 52 km away from Lavrentiya, the municipal center. There is a gravel road with new bridges that make the village accessible from the capital all year round, with the public bus running twice a week.

According to official regional census data there were 1,287 residents in Lorino in 2008 and 1,267 in 2010 (Raschetnye dannye 2008; Russian Census 2010). It is the biggest village in Chukotka, and is inhabited by Maritime Chukchi, Reindeer Chukchi, and Yupik from Naukan and Novoe Chaplino. Russians are not the majority there, but they occupy almost all governing positions from the school principal to the mayor. Lorino was not always the biggest village. It started out as a reindeer herder's camp, but quickly grew in population after the relocation of several smaller coastal communities such as Akkani, Pinakul and Nuniamo, as well from reindeer camps such as Kchaun, Uvevoigyn, and Krasnaya Yaranga (Ainana 1999). In our conversations about villagers, leaders, and hunters, my informants always specified the place of origin of those who we talked about: "he is a good hunter because he is from Akkani."

The local economy is represented by the sea mammal hunting association "Lorino obschina" and the municipal agricultural enterprise "Keper" – the first harvests marine mammals and the second runs the local fur farm and reindeers. There is also public sauna, the municipal grocery store with a bakery, grocery stores. The kindergarten, elementary and high school, local hospital, maintenance services, local administration, public library, community enter are part of everyday life in Lorino. There is a communal ice cellar to store marine mammal meat until spring. Sled dog teams live behind fences around the village and *Lorintsy* (people of Lorino) are very serious about running dogs. Hunters, besides their main office in

the center of Lorino, have small cabins on the beach for every boat crew. There is also an abandoned border guard facility, which closed in approximately 2010-2011.

Lorintsy walk in three directions: one leads to the shore to meet hunters; another goes to the slope where there is a famous bench, which usually hosts elders who watch the killer whales, the sea and people traveling to and from the Akkani hunting camp; and the third one takes mushroom and berry gatherers towards the open tundra. The sea mammal hunters turned out to be the most recognizable social group in town because they wore special green uniforms and moved in groups from their office down to the beach twice a day to go hunting and twice a day to go to lunch and later home. Women and children frequently went along with them to the coast to meet their loved ones returning from Akkani or to send something home-cooked with other hunters who are traveling there. Children were also there waiting for their father or his friend to take them to Akkani. Walking from the village to the coast usually occurred in early morning or late evening. Walking to the bench began in the evening. The bench is situated on the slope, where erosion is very severe. Elders usually come first, bringing their binoculars to watch whales, ships and Akkani. The younger generation arrives after the elders later in the evening, when it was almost dark. They used this bench and another remote site as their own places to hang out away from adults, but still close enough to the see what is going on in town, gossiping about their relationships, skin-boat races, and hunting experience. Women or elders mostly use the third direction, leading to the tundra. Most of them prefer to go to the tundra in the early morning, so that they can sell some mushrooms or berries by noon or have some extra time to preserve the harvest for the winter. Nevertheless, some young fellows also travel in this direction across the new bridge in order to fish in the Lorinka River.

There are two more sites that are frequently visited by *Lorintsy* that should be noted. One is the graveyard situated on the way to tundra and the second is Akkani – a hunting camp located north of Lorino and accessed by a 30-minute boat ride. The cemetery in Lorino is for all ethnic groups "because we have no place" said

informants and that was surprising to me because during my visit to Sireniki in 2008 I had learned that there was more than one graveyard and separate areas for different ethnicities. After attending a wake in Lorino we were told to take some grass stems with and before we entered the house, the mother of the family whispered something and did a cleaning motion in order to make any evil that was following us go back to the cemetery. Part of the landscape, such as rocks, can become part of the household. This happens when a dead sibling visits a family member in a dream and orders them to bring any rocks lying around the building into the house to serve as reminders of the deceased family member. Akkani is the current hunting site for Lorino where people have constructed cabins where they store their hunting gear. The name "Akkani" translates into Russian as *studyunoye mesto* (very cold place). People used to live there year-round before the relocation until 1970, and it was a branch of the state farm "Lenin." Many skillful sea mammal hunters have their roots there.

Lorintsy are also known as skin-boat craftsmen. Not only do they build them, they use them for recreation and subsistence, and mature hunters transfer the knowledge and tradition of making and using skin-boats to the youth. A small bay made by the River Lorinka is present near the community and is where they keep their aluminum hunting boats and use as an easier access to the open sea. During summer time, this bay became a convenient place for youth and women to practice paddling using the heavy whaleboats prior to the regional competitions. *Lorintsy* claimed that after whaleboats, the skin boats used for the Village Day races or the "Beringia" race weigh no more than a feather. Lorino has two local dancing groups: the Yupik "Lorinskie Zori" and the Chukchi "Gichivk'ey," both of which practice in the nicely repaired Community center, commonly referred to as the *klub* (club).

The word "Sireniki" entered my life prior to my coming to Chukotka and the actual processing of my professional documents in the local Chukotka education department in Provideniya. Sireniki was the first place where I was supposed to go as a teacher, and my friend, who already worked in Chukotka, said that it would be a

nice post for me because a new school was being built there. I ended up working in Novoe Chaplino instead, but visited Sireniki as a guest in 2008.

Sireniki is situated about 60 km west of Provideniya, but it less accessible from the municipal center than Lorino is from Lavrentiya. Sireniki is a part of the Provideniya District. A barge operates in the summertime, carrying buses, trucks and *vezdekhod* (caterpillar tank) across Provideniya Bay, which then travels by road for about four hours to Sireniki. Helicopter flights are scheduled twice a month that serve both the Chukotsky and Providensky districts. One can travel to Sireniki by a small boat, but the Bering Sea in that area is very rough and can be so for weeks on end. Sireniki is the historical village site of the Yupiit, with the relatively recent addition of Reindeer Chukchi from Kurupka River (Vakhtin 1998; Kerttula 2000). An archaeological excavation in Sireniki by Sergey Rudenko (1965) indicates that the site was occupied by Old Bering Sea and Punuk cultural stages of Eskimo history, which date between 200 BC-500 AD and 600-1200 AD. Artifacts derived from a massive cultural layer that is up to three meters thick, located on the coast adjacent to the village, indicate that Sireniki has been continuously populated for the last 1400 years. The local residents are very proud of their midden and urge guests to go to the shore and see the cultural layer consisting of dark and oily soil from the seal lamps and marine mammal bones, which is constantly being eroded away by the sea.

Anna Kerttula (2000) in her book *Antlers on the Sea: Yupik and Chukchi on the Russian Far East* explains the origin of name Sireniki. Kawawa, an elder from Sireniki during Kerttula's research, said that in the Yupik language it is *'sighinᵊq,'* and it meant 'antlers.' However, in summer 2011 the majority of the population told me that Sireniki meant 'sunny valley.' The community is situated in a valley between Cape Ulyakhpen and Cape Yakun and contains the Sirenik-Keivuk River. The waters of the Bering Sea are ice-free year round and the community is known for its big waves. The *Sirenikovskaya polyniya* (Sireniki polyniya) or open water area in winter allows hunters to harvest sea mammals any time of the year. The River Sirenik-

Keivuk does not form a small harbor or shelter for boats and hunters have to pull their boats along the rocky shore to their hunting camps. This has made Sireniki hunters famous along the Chukchi Peninsula coast because they had to hunt while riding big waves.

State relocation occurred in Sireniki around the 1940s when the Soviet Government relocated Yupik from small, but self-reliant settlements such as Imtuk, Avan and Plover, and also moved families of Reindeer Chukchi from Kurupka River into the village around 1950s. According to the Russian Census 2010 the population in Sireniki was 496 residents. According to Anna Kerttula (2000) 770 villagers shared social, cultural and geographical space in Sireniki in 1991, of which 343 Yupik and 220 Chukchi . In 2000, according to Ainana (1999) approximately 600 people lived in Sireniki, 310 who identified themselves as Yupik and 210 as Chukchi.

Sireniki needs more attention due to its complex social component consisting of the Yupik (majority) and Reindeer Chukchi (minority, in spite of being majority in general). The elder Kawawa's (Kerttula 2000) explanation of the translation of Sireniki as 'antler' demonstrates the long-standing connection between the Reindeer Chukchi and their Yupik neighbors. In spite of the villagers' assurance of a good life together nowadays, the stories of Yupik kids throwing rocks at Chukchi 30 years ago still hang in the air. One of my primary informants remembers how the Reindeer Chukchi moved to Sireniki, first populating the valley behind the river and staying in their *yaranga* (skin tents). Later they moved to houses in town and inhabited so-called 'Chukchi Street.' It was perceived by many that Chukchi were guests in Sireniki and, conversely, that Yupik did not feel comfortable being out on the tundra.

Sireniki possesses a landscape that is very different from Novoe Chaplino or Lorino – the latter two are flat and can be seen from great distance. The view of Sireniki varies from each side: if visitors arrive from the tundra (domain of the Reindeer Chukchi), then they only see a small hill with several buildings. Arriving by sea in a boat from Provideniya, Imtuk Lake or Nunlingran one sees the whole

village with its hills, river, houses, and boats – it feels like the sea shows the visitor all that the village contains within its territory. During my first visit, I was very surprised climbing the hill up to the place where we stayed and while finding my way down to the store, local administration, or the shore. It seemed to me that I would not be able to remember how to get from place to place, but it was relatively easy. Villagers say that every hill in Sireniki has its own name depending on the family who lives there. It has both old and new houses and buildings. The new buildings are the school, the bakery/store and some apartments.

Sireniki's local economy is similar to Lorino's, with the difference being that the fur farm and public *banya* (sauna) were both closed many years ago. There is a municipal and private store, as well as a kindergarten, and elementary and high schools. The school gym is often used as a gathering place for meetings, especially when Provideniya authorities come for pre-election talks. The Community center has been 'under construction' for several years and it is not a pleasant gathering place where people love to go. The building itself is grey, cold and ugly with only one window in the tiny room of the current director, who uses the Community center to organize local dance group practices and disco dancing.

In spite the fact that Sireniki, like Lorino, maintains its livelihood through sea mammal hunting, there is no communal cellar to keep meat. Instead, they use several container freezers, which, they say, are not large or plentiful enough to keep all of the meat harvested until the next season. Sea mammal hunters have one room in the local administration building for their office. They also occupy a relatively big building on the shore, which is used for hunting preparation, meetings, tool making and boat repair. A building for the border guards known as the *zastava* (frontier post) is situated on the highest point in Sireniki, and the border guards, seemingly, have a better observation point than the hunters. The latter have to report to the *zastava* every time they go hunting. Sireniki, due to its better access to the sea, does not utilize a remote hunting camp like Akkani near Lorino. However, they often go to the Kurupka River, where they fish and escape from the everyday reality in

Sireniki of border guards, telephones, and paperwork. Lake Imtuk is also one of the places that attract *Sirenikovtsy* (people of Sireniki) in both the summer and winter for fishing. Imtuk was a small village that had been inhabited until the 1940s, at which time the residents moved to Sireniki because of the lack of fresh water and schools.

Sireniki has the oldest dancing group in Chukotka named ""Kig'yak"" (northern lights), which dances in the Yupik style and was organized by incoming Yupik from the Old Chaplino village in 1948 ("Kig'yak" 2012). When I prepared the content for the Beringia Park website in 2008, I phoned the various mayors asking about their dancing groups. "We had '"Kig'yak",' but they do not perform any more" I was told when I called Sireniki. Surprisingly, when we arrived in Sireniki in summer 2008 the residents told us right away that we had to watch the ""Kig'yak"" dances. The dancers and visitors arrived at the local community center, took up their drums and performed. By that time, I was able to compare them to the "Solnyshko" dancing group from Novoe Chaplino that I was familiar with. "Solnyshko" had skin drums made of walrus stomachs and wore pretty *kamleykas* (pl. from *kamleyka* - summer cotton dresses known as kuspuk in the Yupik region of Alaska). In contrast, the Sireniki dancers had drums covered with plastic and had shabby *kamleykas.* This was a signal that something was wrong. Later the head of the dancing group told us that Provideniya did not provide any new fabrics to sew new *kamleykas*. Next I questioned why they used plastic drums, and the leaders of the group shared that they need money to buy necessary supplies. I asked about their sea mammal hunters, like in Novoe Chaplino, who also hunted for walruses and could provide a stomach for the drum head, and their answer was that nobody knows how to process the stomach anymore or gather the special birch wood required to make the ring. Instead, two of the rings of the "Solnyshko" drums were made from regular chairs. When I returned to Provideniya I used my connections to ask about the poor condition of the Sireniki dancing group, comparing them to Novoe Chaplino. The authorities who deal with 'culture' said that applying for such items requires

constant and active initiative which Sireniki did not show. The contemporary ensemble in Sireniki consists only of Yupik and some Chukchi teenagers, even though Chukchi did not dance a lot. The older generation of ""Kig'yak"" does not go to practice often or refuses to dance at all. The Chukchi did not have their own dancing group and celebrated their festivals at their home – on the tundra.

In spite of the century-old trade and barter between the people of the sea and the people of the tundra, the Reindeer Chukchi still use the cemetery behind the river in Sireniki to bury their dead. In 2010, Zina Rakhtyna buried her husband Ivan Rultytagin, hereditary herder, in the old Chukchi cemetery. Sireniki residents want to live separately even after death: Sireniki has seven graveyards - two for Chukchi, two for Eskimo, and three that are mixed. If a person is of the mixed ethnicity, for instance Yupik and Chukchi, then he is asked when dead. The specific ceremony of choosing the preferable resting place remained unspoken and informants just shared that "the dead are asked [where they would like to be buried]." Anna Kerttula (2000) describes funerals for Chukchi and Yupik and states that they were the same. In her description of Chukchi ceremony, she states that a fresh walking stick was placed under the head of the corpse. Relatives and friends asked 'yes/no' questions and lifted the head with the stick; if it was easy to lift the head then the answer was positive, and if not then negative.

In Sireniki, it seems that there is nothing that can bring together the two ethnic groups of Reindeer Chukchi and Yupik besides intermarriage. There is no more trade or barter and fraternization based on the century-old exchange of goods like reindeer hides, walrus tongs and seal oil. Bogoraz (1904) argued that there was more similarity between the Reindeer Chukchi and Koryak rather than the Chukchi and Maritime Yupik. The Reindeer Chukchi did not often employ themselves in sea mammal hunting. One current hunter in the Sireniki *obschina* belongs to the tundra people but he is relatively recent addition. Nevertheless, some famous hunters that were born in mixed families of Yupik and Russian became famous sea mammal hunters, such as Mienkov, Gorbunov, or Isakov.

School with its communal facilities like the gym became a mediator between ethnicities. It brings people together for the school celebrations like Chukotka Decade, New Years, Army Day, Women's day, and also for community meetings with visiting authorities from Provideniya. The local school building also hosts under its roof the portraits of famous Chukchi, Yupik and Russian poets and writers including Yuri Rytkheu, Zoya Nenlumkina and Aleksandr Pushkin.

2.2.1 Yupik and Chukchi cultural history

Having in mind that the given research deals with the Chukchi and Yupik cultures in general, and that my primary research question explores the possible causes of the current existing difference, it is worthwhile to review the cultural history of the two ethnicities. It could be that one of the reasons that Lorino and Sireniki are so different is because of the peoples themselves – literally because of the dynamic historical relationship between the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik. Gurvich (1966), Bogoraz (1904), and Nefedkin (2003) present evidence of Chukchi warfare between Eskimo, Even and Koryak groups. In this discussion, we concentrate on the Chukchi and Yupik cultural history.

The Chukchi were mostly known as reindeer herders and occupied the mainland of current Chukotka and some areas in the Sakha Republic. Gurvich (1966) provides a territorial map of the peoples of Siberia in the middle of the 17th century, where reindeer Chukchi had their own territory bordered by Eskimo to the east and Yukagirs to the west. The Chukchi had sea access to the North and South and the Eskimo inhabited the entire coast of the Chukchi Peninsula. By the end of the 18th century, the Chukchi had expanded further east to the Kamchatka Peninsula and west to the current Sakha Republic, while the Eskimo still lived at the same sites (Gurvich 1966:268). The eastern and southern side of Chukchi Peninsula coast remained Eskimo territory until the end of the 19th century, and by 1959 they lived only in the south according to Soviet Census data (Gurvich 1966:269). According to

the 2010 Russian Census, Chukchi still live in Sakha and Kamchatka (Russian Census 2010).

Sergey Rudenko (1965) in his book *The Ancient Culture of the Bering Sea and the Eskimo Problem* tries to date the migration of people from Asia to America, and provides archaeological data that indicates that the Chukchi pushed the Eskimo to the east. In his book he describes the interplay between these two ethnicities in the past and references Sverdrup and Nordenskjold, who found the remains of Eskimo houses on the Ayon River, which is currently inhabited by the Reindeer Chukchi (Rudenko 1965:21). Rudenko (1965) also concludes that numerous excavations on the Chukchi Peninsula reveal that it was a land of sea mammal hunters - Eskimo culture (Rudenko 1965:169). Currently, the majority of Asiatic Eskimos live in the three communities of Novoe Chaplino, Sireniki and Uelkal and the rest of the settlements are inhabited by the Maritime Chukchi. In my interview with Mikhail Zelensky, the head of Chukotsky district, he argues that the Chukchi have survived because they had assimilated the two cultures of reindeer herding and sea mammal hunting simultaneously and are now able to hunt more successfully than the Eskimo themselves.

Aleksandr Nefedkin (2003:204) argues, the "idea of ethnic superiority was not strange to Chukchi, who thought about themselves as more significant than others." More than that, the author states that the Chukchi perceive themselves as one nation, while Asiatic Eskimos distinguished themselves depending on the place where they lived and adding the suffix –miit-. For instance, Yupik people who lived in Avan were 'avatmiit.' The Chukchi did not learn the languages of other nations – the latter had to out of necessity (Nefedkin 2003:204). Here Gurvich (1966:248) supports Nefedkin's statement saying that in 1962 the Asiatic Eskimo knew three languages – Eskimo, Chukchi and Russian. Ludmila Ainana, a Yupik leader, shared in her interview with Dmitry Oparin (2012) that besides her native language she also knew the Chukchi language but that it was very hard for Chukchi people to learn Yupik. Her name Ainana is a Chukchi name and her grandmother, who had lived

with the Chukchi earlier, gave her that name. This fact of naming is relevant to the article by Peter Schweitzer and Evgeniy Golovko (1997) "Local Identities and Traveling Names: Interethnic Aspects of Personal Naming in the Bering Strait Area" where they describe the process of naming among the Chukchi and Yupik by exploring the linguistic construction of names, their movements between continents, and how they are woven into the cultural history.

In Chukotka village-schools it is still offensive to call an Eskimo a Chukchi and vice-versa. The cultural history of two competing nations rises from time to time. A young Chukchi from Lorino said in 2011 that Asiatic Eskimos lived among the rocks and tundra with no berries and grass because the Chukchi pushed them there. It means that people still talk about that part of Chukotka history. These two ethnicities live together on the Chukchi Peninsula, in the Russian county named Chukotka, and the Chukchi is the majority population according to the Russian Census – outnumbering the Yupik by ten times (Russian Census 2010).

2.2.2 Soviet Chukotka

Exploring the contemporary differences between the current situation with festivals, sports, language, and sea mammal hunting in the two villages, calls for a historical overview of Soviet Chukotka. The economic life of both villages was based on traditional Soviet enterprises, implemented throughout the state from Kaliningrad in the west to Chukotka in the east. Two well-known state farms were situated on the Chukchi Peninsula: "Udarnik truda" in Sireniki and "Lenin" in Lorino (Dikov 1974:352, 377), where the majority of villagers were involved in different kinds of labor. Both villages became part of the Soviet policy of collectivization and the Russian and Ukrainians occupied all positions of authority in those organizations. Peter Schweitzer and Patty Gray (2000:19) argue that long before Soviet power came, the indigenous peoples can be "characterized largely by self-directed subsistence activity." Indigenous peoples in the Soviet North practiced sea mammal hunting and reindeer herding and, thus, provided necessary economic

benefits by trade and exchange with each other, native Alaskans, American and Norwegian whalers, as well as preserving their language and cultural identity by living as they always lived in the Arctic environment.

The Soviet collectivization came in the 1930s when *obschinas*, based on kinship, were turned into collective farms where workers (hunters and herders) were still engaged with traditional subsistence, but they were earning monthly wages and "no longer had control over the production and distribution of local resources" (Schweitzer and Gray 2000:23). Anna Kerttula writes that sea mammal hunters were the first who were put into the system of *artel* – a cooperative arrangement organized by Soviets in 1928 (Kerttula 2000:92). They were offered guns and ammunition and while "the mode of production was still Yup'ik, the means of production and the products now belonged to the state" [Yup'ik is the spelling Kerttula uses] (Kerttula 2000:92). The state farm "Udarnik" existed until the 1990s (Kerttula 2000:82). The Soviet government provided the whale ship "Zvezdny," which harvested grey whales from 1969 until 1994 for the coastal communities (Bogoslovskaya 2003; Zelensky 1997). Every summer "Zvezdny" came to Chukotka and brought a whale to each coastal village, which diminished the number of local whaling crews. Chukchi and Yupik from Lorino and Sireniki used their whaleboats to pull the harvested whale to the shore but did not go hunting for that species for 25 years. As a result, the "Zvezdny" interrupted the maintenance of indigenous methods and skill in hunting gray and bowhead whales.

The Soviets created artificial conditions for cultural practices or expressions in order to please the "primitive" people. Lorino and Sireniki informants could remember every federal Soviet holiday in the Community center being accompanied by the local dancing groups: ""Kig'yak"" in Sireniki and "Lorinskie Zori" in Lorino. Dancing groups also went to the federal Soviet festivals, like the Soviet Indigenous Peoples Cultural Festivals in Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Magadan or Krasnoyarsk, where Chukchi and Yupik performed in their Arctic fur gear. The state farms in Lorino and Sireniki were not only a working space, but also the very center of social

and cultural life. The informants shared information about the origin of cultural activity in the times of *kolkhoz* (collective farm), and their responses were the same – the directors of the state farms paid a lot of attention to the traditional ways of life and cultural preservation. Sireniki informants told me that the state farm "Udarnik truda" organized people from different agencies like schools, hospitals, and local administrations for the various Soviet holiday celebrations: Army Day, Women's Day, Victory Day, etc. "Life was good back in the past" I heard frequently in Sireniki. Peter Schweitzer and Patty Gray (2000) write that this kind of support was highly strategized by the state, where people did not take part in planning cultural events, but were to perform their traditional culture for the public. The authors argued "language and culture are most naturally 'preserved' wherever Chukchi and Yupik are allowed to practice freely their traditional economic pursuits" (Schweitzer and Gray 2000:30). The staff of the Beringia Museum in Provideniya said that the state farm in Sireniki was a so-called model farm – it got a lot of regional support and it was a matter of the great prestige to live there. Vdovin (1965:351) provided a date when "Udarnik truda" became known as the *oporno-pokazatel'noye khozyastvo* [model farm] – it was in 1960.

Nowadays, the people of Sireniki describe themselves as passive towards the ways of cultural expression, while waiting for somebody to come and organize them. Their obschina does not play the leading role in the village when compared to Lorino. To my question about local leaders, almost nobody could name someone who had that role. Interestingly, instead people referred back to the past and named famous hunters such as Panaugie, Kavaugie, and Typykhkak, who had passed away. *Sirenikovtsy* claimed that they did not have such people nowadays. Some individuals named Russian or Ukrainian *kolkhoz* or *sovkhoz* directors. Contemporary hunters, seemingly, are removed from daily social and cultural village life. Although Sireniki sea mammal hunters retain their unique skill of making skin-boats, they do not demonstrate it and do not have boats on the shore. In summer 2011, they did make a wooden frame for the big cargo skin-boat known in Yupik as *angyagkhpak.*

Sirenikovtsy did this with the hope that the local, recently elected chair of the sea mammal hunting association would help to revive the former prosperity and glory of Sireniki village and its hunters.

Lorino informant, Raisa Eremeeva, who had worked there as the Math teacher, had many warm and nice words to say about the state farm "Lenin" and its role in the social and cultural life in this village. Surprisingly, she was the only one. Raisa came to Chukotka in 1964 and worked there until 1982. In 2011 she returned for a visit thanks to her former students in Lorino who raised money for her ticket from Altai to Chukotka. She received a fox hide from the "Keper" municipal enterprise and some items of walrus ivory from her students as gifts. During her time in Lorino, as Eremeeva shared, the Community center was full during the celebrations devoted to the International Women's Day, Army day or New Year's and native dance groups performed. When questioned about local leaders, she named the current hunter's families – the same names I heard from other villagers, who answered without thinking.

The Chukchi from Lorino organize many activities that represent their traditional cultural traits including the need for speed, competiveness and cooperation. They want to be active and the roots of their active life are in their culture – "we have always been like this" said the local hunters. The informants from Lorino never referred to the Soviet past and their life under Soviet state farm domination; instead, they described their kin places of Nuniamo, Pinakul, Yandogai and Akkani before the relocation, and shared stories of them competing and coming together. Whereas *Sirenikovtsy* invoked the past with nostalgia as the place where they lived better, *Lorintsy* employ their past to live well in the present.

Chapter 3. Local, and regional festivals and sport tournaments

Many of the visitors I met while living in Chukotka considered Yupik dance performances very repetitive, short, and unclear. For these audiences, it is sometimes hard to decide or imagine what a particular dance is about. During the summer season, when large cruise boats arrive full of tourists, local residents organize dance and sport performances, along with Chukchi and Yupik cuisine. On these occasions, a knowledgeable person often leads the event, telling about the meaning and purpose of the dance or sport exercise. Such native dances are also always part of Russian celebrations such as Army Day, Womens' Day, or Victory Day; along with Russian dances and songs, there are Chukchi and Yupik performances on the stages of the local schools and Community center. Further, dance is one of the very reasons people come together in Chukotka— in the case of regional festivals, everyone enjoys meeting friends from far away, speaking together in their native languages, sharing tea and cookies and, if it is a bigger celebration, preparing reindeer meat in the district or regional center.

My first introduction to the local Chukchi and Yupik languages and dance performances took place in Novoe Chaplino just before December of 2004—a time when all educational and administrative institution were preparing a ten-day celebration of the establishment of the Chukotka autonomous region. Such a traditional commemorations would typically include dance performances, language and drawing contests, fairy tale enactments, Arctic sport competitions, and a Chukotka-style fashion show. This particular celebration was known as *Dekada Chukotki* (Chukotka Decade), and it was convened as a school event throughout Chukotka by native-language teachers. A mandatory staff meeting with the school principal preceded the celebration a month prior. Besides the comprehensive schools, other local agencies in Chukotka such as museums and sport and art schools prepared and discussed their own program.

There was a time in the lives of the Chukchi and Yupik peoples when celebrations took place year round and were not an obligation of a school principal

or local and regional agencies. In his ethnography about the Chukchi, Russian ethnographer Waldemar Bogoraz (1904) wrote about their calendar and ceremonial festivals, during which some celebrations meant to honor the reindeer people (Chauchu), while others focused on the maritime people (Ankalin) and the Asiatic Eskimo, as Bogoraz (1904) called them. Although the given research concentrates primarily on the Maritime Chukchi and Yupik as the chosen case studies' majority populations, the Reindeer Chukchi are also a feature in Lorino and Sireniki and their local festivals.

While these groups had various calendar and ceremonial celebrations in the past—as described by Bogoraz (1904), Sadovskaya (2012), and Tagrina-Weinstein (2012)—only a few festivals currently remain that convene Chukchi and Yupik with a purpose to "save traditional culture and languages"(Sadovskaya 2012). In the past, the Reindeer Chukchi had the "Fall Slaughtering," "Ceremonial of Antlers," "Thanksgiving Ceremony," "Races," among others (see Bogoraz 1904:368). Among the Maritime Chukchi festivals described by Bogoraz (1904), there were the "Ceremonial House," "Sacrifice to the Sea," "Fall ceremonial," "Ceremonial of Kere'tkun," and others (see Bogoraz 1904:385-400). For their part, Asiatic Eskimos celebrated the "Ceremonial of boats," "Ceremonial of heads," "Whale Ceremonial," "Races," and others (Bogoraz 1904:400-413). Bogoraz (1904) argues that the Maritime Chukchi and Asiatic Eskimo celebrations were "performed with varying similarity" and that this statement may still apply on the Chukchi Peninsula (Bogoraz 1904:387).

Currently, some coastal villages celebrate Whale Day, which usually overlaps with the August village day when indigenous people of the world celebrate their Indigenous Peoples Day, established by United Nation Organization on December 23, 1994 (IPD 2012). Further, Uelen, Lorino, and Novoe Chaplino have also been established as the locations of the annual boat races, known as "Beringia," that accompany peoples' gatherings. While living on the coast, I never heard about the

Reindeer Chukchi celebrating their own festivals, though I did later on in Anadyr, and the description of a Chukchi celebration follows in this chapter.

3.1 The "Beringia" Skin-boat Race

The Culture and Sport Festival of Chukotka Marine Mammal Hunters, also known as the Chukchi-Eskimo Skin-Boat Race "Beringia," is the most festive, breathtaking, and spectacular celebration in modern Chukotka. This festival, established in July 1992 by the journalist Dmitry Ledovskoy, aims to maintain the tradition of building Chukchi-Eskimo skin-boats. Sources show that by 1992, only about five boats were left in Sireniki, traditionally characterized by its skillful Eskimo hunters (Ainana et al 2003; Sadovskaya 2012). The first "Beringia" race took place in Uelen, with a route from Big Diomide Island to Uelen. With the formal establishment of the race in 1992, the number of the skin boats grew, with more communities later coming to Lavrentiya to compete.

The "Beringia" skin boat race takes place every year in the Gulf of Lavrentiya in the Chukotksy district, though it was twice held in the Gulf of Tkachen of the Novoe Chaplino community in the Provideniya district. Sea mammal hunters begin preparation two months before the race, harvesting a female walrus, whose skin is unbroken, in early June and constructing the wooden frame for the boat. The boat requires two hides. The walrus hide undergoes defatting, splitting, and fermentation processes. About a week before the regatta, builders remove the skin from a special mix of water and pull it over the frame, simultaneously removing any remaining hair for streamlining. Participants occupy three demographic groups: men, women, and male youth (up to 18 years old). Each boat crew consists of seven members—six on the oars and a captain, who maintains the tempo. Some boats even have a sail, which experienced crews can use to increase the boat speed. Race distance is defined as six kilometers for women and youth and ten kilometers for men. Every boat crew prepares its own boat and has its own tactics for victory. Anecdotally, guests from Chaplino, Yanrakynnot, and Lavrentiya have often rented boats from Lorino crews

and complained these boats were not good enough and led to disappointing losses. Eight boats compete and, fully equipped with life jackets and buoys, present a breathtaking annual picture. A support group follows them follows throughout the race, ready to help at any minute. When the boats are out of sight, various entertainment begins onstage and on shore—dancing groups from neighboring villages perform, and local and visiting couches hold various sports tournaments, descriptions of which follow in this chapter. Beringia is a great opportunity to buy local crafts made from walrus ivory and reindeer fur or other souvenirs, and to try Chukchi and Yupik cuisine of fresh raw or cooked whale, seal, or walrus meat, with a variety of herbs. During Beringia, local food is free.

Visiting and local officials award prizes to Beringia boat race participants. According the official rules, only crews finishing first, second, and third get awards, but in practice, last-place finishers also get something of value. Officials themselves choose the prizes—this is not the domain of the winners. Throughout the Beringia's history, awards have varied from kitchen utensils and DVD players to Japanese sewing machines and washing machines. Typically, the festival occupies the last weekend of July, bringing people from coastal communities to watch the skin boat race, meet friends, and share the joys of dancing and food.

The skin boat or *baidara* is the key element of the "Beringia" race. Gurvich (1966) notes that the *baidara*, of wooden frame and walrus or seal hide, represented the main means of transportation for the historical Eskimo, Chukchi, and Koryak. Today, hunters from the northern coast to the southern villages recognizes Sireniki hunters' past efforts to teach every community in the construction of these traditional, lightweight, maneuverable boats. Together with Petr Typykhkak and Victor Tatyga (Yupik hunters from Sireniki) Ainana et al (2003) provides sketches, pictures and step-by-step instructions of making Chukotka *umiaks* (baidara) in *"Umiak: The Traditional Skin Boat of the Coast dwellers of the Chukchi Peninsula*." If in the 1990s, Sireniki was the leading Chukotka community in the ownership and construction of *baidaras*, then the situation changed in the

2000s—since then, Lorino has held this status. In the summer of 2011, every Lorino boat crew was preparing for the regional Beringia race ahead: from hunting for female walruses to the defatting, splitting, and fermenting of the hide. A week before the Beringia, men were stretching walrus hides across wooden frames and were cleaning the hair; their wives and children were practicing on the whaleboats every day, under the guidance of the hunter from their Beringia brigade. These communities took me twice to the open sea during practice, though only for weight purposes—they did not give me an oar to paddle, as "the race is not a joke."

It is appropriate to mention here the Chukchi women from Lorino and their competition in the Beringia. Klara Guvanrol'tat, the mother of three Lorino young hunters, told me while we were watching hunters playing soccer against Utility servicemen that in 1998, women of Lorino wrote a request to the Committee for Sports and Tourism of Chukotka to include female teams into the boat race. They got approval that same year, convened a *skhod* (community meeting), chose female crews there, and sought Gennady Inankeuyas (1958-2012; the sea mammal hunter from Akkani) to teach them how to paddle. Klara and her crew, who attend Beringia under the "Akkani" flag, have won the race several times. A recent update to female participation stipulates that young Lorino girls up to 18 may operate baidara oars as well. Additionally, for Lorintsy, Beringia is not only about the race—every Lorino household displays activity awards from this festival—items that cannot be found in as many Sireniki houses. Almost every family in Lorino has won something during Beringia's long 20-year history: camping gear and tents, washing machines, stoves, DVD players, microwaves, kitchen utensils kits, kitchen pots and pans, sewing machines, tea potters, etc. Some of these prizes are impossible to buy in Lorino or Lavrentiya, and would not be affordable for most people.

In my experience, opinions regarding the skin boat race vary in Sireniki. Some elders that villagers raced before the 1990s, while others hesitated, saying that there were never races in the area because of the open sea. Nevertheless, YouTube (Whale Day 1988) demonstrates a Sireniki skin boat race competition on a

Whale Day in 1988. Further, the current chair of the sea mammal hunters Valery Skhaugie claimed that the 1970s were the golden years and his generation had learned how to build *baidara* from 14 years old. He also mentioned that in 1991, when they went to Saint Lawrence Island and visited Lorino on their way, Sireniki hunters saw Chukchi making wooden frames too thick and corrected them. It may be the case that by the time Sireniki brought their first aluminum boat from St. Lawrence Island in 1991-1992, Lorino sea mammal hunters had started building their own fleet of skin-boats for the tournaments.

20 years after the *Sirenikivtsy* taught the Lorintsy to build *baidara*, in the summer of 2011, I questioned both the chair of the Sireniki *obschina* and the mayor about the reason they had not participated in the Beringia festival for so long. The latter said that the gas was too expensive to get there and that is was too far to travel. Valery Skhaugie shared that they had participated once, but that their whaleboat had become very heavy from absorbing water when by the time they arrived at Lavrentiya. Futher, during the Beringia race, they had broken one of their paddling oars. Since then, Sireniki had not gone that far north to compete in the race. Skhaugie said that they would go in 2012, as it would be in held in Tkachen Bay of the Novoe Chaplino community. Novoe Chaplino is closer than Lorino—it is an hour boat ride to Provideniya and then another 40-minute bus ride. The boat crew from Sireniki, however, did not ultimately attend the 2012 race and celebration as planned.

Lorino participants, on the other hand, did come to Novoe Chaplino with their skin-boats, by the steamboat "Sotnikov," rented for this purpose by the Chukotka government. As usual, they made tent camp. The competitions had the typical lineup of men, women, and male youth *baidara* races, Arctic sports, Chukchi and Yupik dances, and local cuisine. Volleyball and basketball matches took place as well. Lorino sportsmen took eight awards in the races, and the youth team from Novoe Chaplino took one award for second place. In the fall of 2012, Valery

Skhaugie mentioned over Skype that the Sireniki community had heard about the event's festivities.

3.2 The "Nadezhda" Sled Dog Race

Another comparison of Lorino and Sireniki and their cultural expressions is found in another contemporary regional Chukotka festival—the Sled Dog Race "Nadezhda" (Hope). Nadezhda was launched in order to revive the century-old tradition of dog racing on the Chukchi Peninsula. This was one of the first international events after the Soviet Union disintegration, bringing foreign mushers from the USA, Norway, Canada, and Japan (Bogoslovskaya 2011). Bogoraz (1904) wrote in his monograph that these races were very popular among reindeer herders, who raced their reindeer, and among the Yupik and Maritime Chukchi, who ran their dogs. More than one hundred years after his ethnographic research, dog races had become the most representative element of the Maritime Chukchi, and almost all Arctic coast villages, from Neshkan, Enurmino, Inchoun, Uelen, Lavrentiya, Lorino and Yanrakynnot participate in this competition.

The Nadezhda race has two routes: a northern one from Lavrentiya up to the coastal villages of the Arctic Ocean and then turning south to Anadyr; and a southern route, which starts in Lavrentiya and continues along the southern coast of the Provideniya District, the Iul'tin district (home to the third Yupik community), and then to the Anadyr district. Any musher over 18 is allowed to participate, as long as they have had competitive experience before. Depending on the route, mushers have between five and thirteen check points, where it is mandatory to stop, feed the dogs, meet with the community, and participate in traditional sports. Some mushers are related to the villagers from various settlements, and the villagers may wish to host the participants. Depending on weather conditions, racers can spend up to four days waiting at checkpoints. The race begins at the same time for everyone, and at the end the results are summed up. Each musher chooses the type of sled that is comfortable for him, though it must have enough space to carry an injured dog.

Additionally, he must have a sleeping bag, an ax to chop wood and walrus rolls, fleece boots for his dogs, and food for him and the dogs for one day. Every checkpoint community prepares dog food for the races, so as mushers finish, they receive a designated portion of dog food. The food is free, and usually Chukotka government orders food from the sea mammal hunting associations. When racers arrive at a checkpoint finish line, they make a fire, chop meat, cook broth as an evening meal for their dogs, and reserve meat for breakfast. Each musher has from ten to twelve dogs in his team. Each race has a support group consisting of a main judge, his assistant, and a veterinarian, and every district provides transportation for these personnel. There are some penalties in the race, beginning with a money fine, a time fine of up to two hours, or disqualification. Most mushers finish in Lavrentiya, perhaps because the majority of participants are from the Chukotsky district, some in Provideniya, and very few in Anadyr. The first three winners receive $5000-$6500, the rest less—about $2000. During the "Nadezhda 2010" award ceremony in Anadyr, several entrepreneurs established their own prizes—one for the oldest musher of a given race, and another for the youngest.

Every other sea mammal hunter out of the 60 employed by the Lorino *obschina* is a musher and dog team owner. The Yupik and Reindeer Chukchi of Sireniki maintain one sled dog team. Some in Sireniki contended that there was no need for sled dogs anymore, due to several factors: no exchange partners among the Reindeer Chukchi; the lack of an ice edge, and walking as the preferred transportation of hunters; and the advent of snow machines. The Soviet ethnographer Gurvich's (1966) description supports the claim that Eskimos began the sled dog tradition—he states that along with maritime culture, Chukchi also adopted sled dog transportation. Even though, according to Bogoraz (1904), races were part of both Maritime Chukchi and Eskimo cultures, today the reality shows that sled dogs and their races have became predominately Chukchi. Besides the regional race "Nadezhda," Lorino launches its own short distance races for students during spring break from school, and a separate community race in May. One

respondent, who had lived in Sireniki for about 35 years, said that there were sled dogs at the time of *kolkhoz* and the fox farm, as the hunters had enough walrus meat to feed themselves and all the animals in the village. Today, however, hunters harvest walrus only to feed villagers, and there is no storage for meat. Another reason for foregoing dog teams has been the absence of an ice edge—*Sirenikovskaya polynia* provides access to hunting year round. Unlike Lorino, Sireniki is known for rough waters on the open sea—local hunters joke that they harvest whales and walruses in the sea, while other coastal communities work in the puddle. This same respondent shared that the climate had changed and that he had probably seen the ice edge just three times while living there: "I would not feed my dog for the whole year in order to go to ice edge just for one time."

Various geographic, climatic, social, and economic conditions have affected the prospects of sled dogs in Chukotka. Lorino has aspects that are more advantageous: an ice cellar to store meat and an ice edge during the cold season, where dogs can work alongside hunters in the spring seal hunt. According to Eduard Zdor, the Executive Secretary of ChAZTO, the people of Lorino have wished for advancement for a long time, beginning with the first *kolkhoz* director, who built an ice cellar. Sireniki hunters do not have the same facilities for preserving large amounts of meat.

Hunters in Lorino prefer to have sled dogs, meanwhile, and a young marine mammal hunter noticed that their sled dogs are the most accessible means of transportation: they can go fishing, get away, or visit their friends and relatives in Lavrentiya or Yanrakynnot. Villagers from Lorino also expressed a constant wish to diversify their life with dog and boat races, soccer, and ethnic sports tournaments—"We do not want just sleep, eat and go to work."

3.3 Whale Day celebrations in Lorino, Novoe Chaplino and Sireniki

Our next comparison derives from a local level of festivity, and particularly from the celebration of the Indigenous peoples' day in August, when hunters harvest

whale and provide fresh meat for their fellow villagers. Traditional Chukchi and Eskimo motion dancing, along with local cuisine and Arctic sports competitions accompany. Whale Day has its roots in century-old history, throughout which a successful harvest on this day determined the coming year and prompted a ritual of thanking the whale with further dances and sports events (Sadovskaya 2012). Igor Krupnik (2000) shares the knowledge of the *stariki* (elders) regarding whale day celebrations on the coast of the Chukchi Peninsula, from Naukan to Sireniki. Many of his storytellers remembered this day as *pol'a.* The boat captain, whose crew harvested the whale, brought it to the community, butchered it, removed its flippers, and kept them until the real festival in December, when the hunting season for whales, walruses, and bearded seals was over. Still, during the summer after the hunt, people shared food and danced. Parina, an Yupik elder from the book, shared that people in Sireniki and Imtuk took only bowhead whales: when they tried the meat of the gray whale in Plover, they were squeamish—meanwhile, the Soviet Government harvested only gray whales for the needs of the indigenous population in Chukotka. Sivugun, the elder from the book, said that "Whale Day was mandatory in Sireniki once a year" (Krupnik 2003:274). During this celebration, the oldest women prepared the whale with some meat and roots, thanking him for coming.

August 25, 2005 was Whale Day in Novoe Chaplino, and it was also my first summer in Chukotka. That day, the sea mammal hunters harvested a small gray whale, local dancing troupes performed on stage, women sold fur slippers and souvenirs, a builder from Uzbekistan cooked *plov* (Asian dish with rice and meat and lots of carrot). I do not remember the rite of feeding and thanking the whale. Chaplino villagers love this day and look forward to it. In 2005, dance groups from Nunligran and Enmelen came. Arctic games such as stick pulling, rope pulling, triple jump, and jumps over sleds are also on the program. I was also in Chaplino for the same celebrations in 2008 and 2011, but in those years, hunters did not bring the whale to the Tkachen Bay; they got it in Inakhpak, their summer camp. The relocation had distributed Yupik from Cape Chaplin to the bay, with no prospect for

big marine mammals like whales, and hunters had to venture to their summer or spring hunting camps. Seals, fish and ascidia, known as *upa*, substitute the diet of Chaplino residents.

In August of 2011, during my fieldwork, the Lorino community celebrated Whale Day. Hunters did not go hunting that day due to poor weather conditions in the early morning, but the celebration took place. I heard stories that, usually, a woman did the thanking ritual for the first harvested whale of the year in Lorino. During their Whale Day, *Lorintsy* also practice a local variant of "Beringia" skin boat race, locally initiated and implemented at the beginning of 2000s. Ever since, it has brought together hunters' families and their friends from Lavrentiya, Yanrakynnot, and Uelen. Local authorities from Lorino and Lavrentiya attend and present certificates of honor to outstanding villagers and hunters. The day of the skin-boat race concurs with the Village Day celebration, Sea Mammal Hunters' and International Indigenous Peoples' Days. While the boat crews of men, women, and youth competed in the sea, others watched "Lorinskie Zori" and "Gichivk'ey" local dancing performances. The grocery store baked pastries for sale, and native women cooked Chukchi cuisine of reindeer and marine meat. People of all ages participated in the celebration, competing in boat racing, shooting, running, rope pulling, triple jump, and wrestling. Oleg Ivivneut, a hunter from boat crew #3, said: "Zhit' to nado, vot I zhivem! Ezdim na sobakakx, okhotomsya, zhivem. V etom nasha zhizn (Life goes on, so we do. We ride sled dogs, hunt, and we live. This is our life)."

Three days after, I was at a Whale Day festival in Novoe Chaplino. Local hunters got their whale in their remote summer camp of Inakhpak and brought meat to the village. There were no boat races, but typical rituals took place, including the dance group performances from the local "Solnyshko" and the Provideniya "Akhtagak"; a contest for the best *kamleyka*; and some Arctic sports, such as stick pulling and rope pulling. Compared to Lorino, it was a small community gathering with some guests and authorities from Provideniya.

3.4 1988 and 2011 Whale Day Celebrations in Sireniki

I arrived in Sireniki five days after Lorino and Novoe Chaplino. I hoped to be there in time for a festival of its own—be it Whale day, Village Day or Indigenous Peoples Day—the last is celebrated in all Chukotka and Anadyr communities (Chukotka 2012). By the time I arrived, nothing in the village indicated an approaching or completed event: no flyers, no familiar wooden stage – neither old nor fresh. I went to register myself at *sel'sovet* (local city hall) and questioned the local mayor about a coming celebration of the Indigenous Peoples Day, upon which she reported: "Chaplino celebrates it. We have nobody to organize this event. We never celebrated it." Because I wanted to compare Lorino and Sireniki in this vein, I continued to ask questions about celebrations in the village. "What local festivals do you celebrate?" I asked my informants and occasional people during conversations in Sireniki. Their answer was remarkably consistent with the mayor's: "Yes, we celebrate the Whale Day. It was in 1988."

Participant observation, the personal and professional inclinations to organize events, and my former student's regret about living in the worst village in the Provideniya district all prompted us to decide to run the Village Day. The schoolteachers, the director of the Sireniki Community center, and youth all put their efforts into organizing this Village Day, and to finish the summer term of the Sireniki School. Two days before the actual event, we hung flyers, wrote personal invitations to elders, and decorated two large posters, made of wallpaper, with images of Sireniki between two capes and with water up their knees. Youth, from mixed families, explained that, according to Eskimo tradition and funeral ceremonies, dead Yupik were buried with their feet towards the sea, the place of their origin. Although they told me about Eskimo, the images copied from the book illustrated Chukchi, and nobody mentioned this fact. We tried to convince the *obschina* chair and sea mammal hunters to give a speech during that day; they never did—that day hunters went walrus hunting, though it was Saturday. It was a nice, sunny day, up to 20 °C. Small triangle flags were hung on thin rope, some elders

came in their *kamleykas*, and villagers took their places on the benches and the slope facing the school. Instead of a typical shore environment as in Novoe Chaplino and Lorino, we celebrated the event in front of the school building. The mayor had her speech about Indigenous Peoples Day history, teenagers from the ""Kig'yak"" dance group began our small celebration, and elders joined them. All of them sang a song about Sireniki in the Eskimo language, as did the audience. Only two women brought pastry and compote for sale—everything sold out. Later, the local hunters arrived with their catch and butchered walruses on the shore until late. We also composed a quiz about Sireniki, its people, and its history. One of the questions was about a big festival with many visitors, and the audience replied together that it was Whale Day on August 6, 1988.

The search I undertook later in the Provideniya museum archives, through the *Polayrnik* (polarman) newspaper, led me to articles and pictures of that 1988 celebration. Were there not black and white pictures from the old newspaper, one might think that it was Lorino on the pages, but it was Sireniki, with its boats in the sea, its stage with the banner, and many people on the shore and in sports tournaments. Whale Day of 1988 is still Sireniki's moment of pride. Primarily, it was the first Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) meeting on the Soviet/Russian side, and ICC President Mary Simon came to Sireniki with other ICC representatives from Canada, Alaska, and Greenland (Omelchenko 1988a). Secondly, relatives from Alaska came to Sireniki, and Asiatic Eskimos met their cousins from the American side after the 40-years break (Makovnev 2012). Dancing groups from Lavrentiya and Novoe Chaplino and Russian and Japanese TV channels arrived for the Whale Day 1988 on August 6-7, also known as the Sea Mammal Hunters Festival (Omelchenko 1988b).

On that day of August 6, 1988, Sireniki hunters led their skin-boats to the Whale-ship "Zvezdny," and brought their prey back to the beach. Galina Rakhtynau, Petr Typykhakak's wife, made a "Thanksgiving Ceremony" for the whale and, according to the ancient tradition of coastal peoples, asked him for forgiveness

(Bogoraz 1904; Omelchenko 1988a). In her ritual, Galina cut bits from the flippers, asked for forgiveness, and simultaneously requested the animal tell the rest of his brothers about the appropriate welcoming, inviting them to Sireniki again. Omelchenko (1988a) illuminates in the same newspaper another ritual of that day—the Rite of Passage, when Sireniki male youngsters move from a status of community fellows to the status of young sea mammal hunters (Omelchenko 1988a). Journalists also described numerous dance performances in the evening of the same day on the shore. The leader of the Sireniki club Nadezhda Kiplina and the leader of the "Solnyshko" dance troupe Anatoly Saliko announced all the participants in Russian and Eskimo languages (Omelchenko 1988a). The next day, on August 7th, good weather allowed the skin-boat race among hunting crews, Arctic games of rock pulling, harpoon throwing, and wrestling and, of course, dancing and singing competitions (Omelchenko 1988b; Whale Day 1988). Omelchenko (1988b) writes that after the tournaments of that day, both Soviet and international participants discussed the necessity of future exchanges and reciprocal visits, in order to maintain further "spiritual prosperity and international relationships." In spite of only two days of celebration, the Polyarnik district newspaper stretched this event to stories for the whole month of August.

Whale Day was celebrated just that once and never since, according to Sireniki informants. Some of them complained that there was nobody to organize something similar. They also said that *Sirenikovtsy* are isolated from other festive life in the Chukotsky and Novoe Chaplino districts, and that although local celebrations were an indicator of community well-being for people born and raised during the Soviet Union era, they had no annual common subsistence celebration, and no place for Chukchi and Yupik to meet. Some students discussed an opportunity to organize a "Walrus wrestling" game and other ethnic tournaments for the village day in 2011. Adults wanted to establish the Walrus Day Celebration in the summer or fall of 2012, as it was their 'main holiday.' They dreamed that hunters would harvest the animal and fellow villagers would come together to help

in slaughtering, cooking meat, dancing on the shore, and organizing sport tournaments. In another Skype talk with Sireniki in late fall 2012, I learned they had held neither a Walrus Day celebration nor an Indigenous Peoples Day similar to one we organized in 2011. Meanwhile, Menovshchikov (1977), a teacher and a linguist, who came to Sireniki in 1932, wrote "Walrus and Whale Celebrations are the biggest and the most interesting spring Eskimo festivals, containing elements of ethnic culture and art except being a shamanic cult" (79). According to early notes from Menovshchikov (1977) in his book *Na Chukotskoi Zemle* (On Chukotka land), in November 7th, 1933 there was "the first in the history of Sireniki big celebration of national ethnic art. Girls and boys, young men and women dance with a drum 'the raven Dance' and 'the Walrus Dance'" (Menovshchikov 1977:80).

3.5 Chukchi Festival "Kil'vey"

This part of my thesis is not based on the personal experience or fieldwork data. I had no chance to witness this celebration myself, but I consider that it is important to provide more awareness of the traditional Reindeer Chukchi festivals since Chukotka is the home of Chukchi people and Sireniki, in particularly, is a mixed community of Yupik and Chukchi. The Reindeer Chukchi, relocated there in the 1950s, had their own tundra subsistence celebrations, including rituals, reindeer slaughtering, and the celebration itself. Here, I will recall the festival that Chukchi people in Sireniki described most—*Kil'vey*, which is also known as the festival of the first-born calf or the festival of the antlers. *Kil'vey* occurs in the springtime, when female deers not only give birth to the new generation, but also they drop/loose their antlers, which herders collect into the piles. Chronicles tell us that that day, a wife of the main herder brings hot charcoal near to the pile of antlers and makes a fire; simultaneously, other women do the same. The owner of the herd then announces the move of the herd, represented by the antlers, and people move the pile of antlers towards the skin tent, symbolizing the successful future move of the actual herd. A thanksgiving rite occurs afterwards: the hostess puts three prizes

around the fire, and three women jump and run over the fire, trying to be first for those prices. Then the herd master dances with a drum, women begin throat singing, and others don animal hides, imitating wolverines, wolves, and bears (Sadovskaya 2012). Dancing and sports are also an essential part of this celebration. Chukchi informants from Sireniki shared that *Kil'vey* did exist, though young herders in their 30s or 40s did not celebrate it properly. One lady, who was born in Kurupka and travelled with her parents to Yanrakynnot tundra, recalled that until the 1990s, when *sovkhoz* had many reindeer, Yupik went to the tundra for *Kil'vey*: "many coastal peoples came on their boats to celebrate it with us, even elders, who barely walked, came. People had good communication." Another important subsistence festival, called *Vylgykaanmat*, occurred at the end of summer and the beginning of fall, when big reindeer were slaughtered for meat and hides for winter cloth. Chukchi always went back to the tundra to celebrate their holidays, until they came into the *sovkhoz* herd and further transportation: dogs in the past and cars in industrial soviet past. The same informant admits that people used dog and reindeer for transportation to the tundra, but then they "became lazy" and today, they want tractor or snow machine, which are expensive and not available most of the time. Several Chukchi elders shared that they would love to go back to the tundra, to sing, dance in their festivals, and cook fresh reindeer meat, but that there was no easy way to get there and they had to stay in Sireniki as a result. According to interviews, talks, and tea parties, the Reindeer Chukchi did not have their traditional celebrations in Sireniki and indeed went back to the tundra.

3.6 Arctic Olympics: sports in contemporary Chukotka

After the discussion of local and regional festivals in Lorino, Sireniki, and Chukotka, I turn here to a very essential part of the festivals—sport tournaments. Village and Whale Day celebrations in Lorino, Novoe Chaplino and Sireniki offered characteristic festival sports, including the aforementioned Beringia skin boat race and Nadezhda sled dog race. In 1948, Georgy Menovschikov wrote a story of the

Naukan community from Khulheny, about the raid by both American and Asiatic Eskimo, including the quote "here the tournaments began: walrus blanket tossing, rock pulling, running and wrestling" (Menovshchikov 1985:533). Nefedkin (2003) points out in his book *Warfare of the Chukchi in the mid 17th – early 20th century* that two centuries ago, the sports competitions became the way of making peace between Alaska and Chukotka residents, and this is the reason why Menovschikov's Naukan informant mentioned the games while describing the raid. Another story about "*Viyutuku-the Head*," told by Asiatic Eskimo Mainy to Menovschikov (Nefedkin 2003) in the Village of Chaplino (Old Chaplino or Unazik), provides data regarding preparation for a war with either Koryak or Chukchi, during which maritime people from Nunligran practiced running, wrestling, weigh lifting, and spear throwing (Menovshchikov 1985:533). The stories of the distant past described sport tournaments not only as a part of life by which people gained strength for either herding or marine mammal hunting, but as a necessary part in ceremonial celebrations.

Bogoraz (1904) wrote "Chukchi are fond of all kinds of sport, and indulge in them whenever opportunity is offered" (Bogoraz 1904:264). Here Bogoraz describes reindeer racing and dog racing among the Reindeer and Maritime Chukchi, respectively. Wrestling on slippery walrus hide and long distance foot race were male and female contests among Maritime Chukchi and Eskimo during the time Bogoraz was in Chukotka. Another almost ritual sport for coastal peoples was tossing a blanket made of walrus hides (Bogoraz 1904:267). The author provides an illustration of Asiatic Eskimos from Uni'sak (Old Chaplino) wrestling, dancing, and foot-racing. Sport contests have always been a significant part of life for both Chukchi and Yupik.

Today, a series of ethnic sport tournaments exists in Chukotka, with people competing in them during official annual contests (Sport 2012). These contests are called the *Arkticheskoe mnogoborie* (Arctic multiathlon), which includes the triple jump, running with a stick, jumping over the sleds, and throwing *chaata* (leather

lasso) and an ax; and the *Severo-Arktiheskoe mnogoborie* (North-Arctic multiathlon), comprised of high-kick one foot, knee jump, Chukotka wrestling ("take-ev"), and Pulling the stick, an Eskimo game that is one of the favorite competitions for all ages in Novoe Chaplino, Lorino, and Anadyr.

Who trains sportsmen and where do they perform? Typically, there is an extra curriculum in Chukotka schools called *NVS* (2011) – *Natsional'nye Vidy Sporta* (Traditional Sports). This study can either occupy a part of Physical Education or a separate class with a special coach. In general, there are two Physical Education teachers in Chukotka schools—one in charge of the standard Federal curriculum and another one for *NVS*. For example, *NVS* in Novoe Chaplino School was quite important, as young sportsmen travelled to Anadyr for regional competition and for the Governor's Cup every year. Some of them also competed in the Arctic Winter Games in Canada and Alaska in 1998 and 2000 (Sport 2012). For Novoe Chaplino, there were two PE teachers—one for elementary school only, and another one for the "Kig'yak" students and *NVS* classes, which lasted from 3:00 until 7:00. Several students from Novoe Chaplino went to the Russian Championship of the Arctic multiathlon, and the girl I taught from this community had a room full of gold, silver, and bronze medals for her achievements in *NVS*.

There are two schools in Lorino: Elementary and High School. PE in the elementary school was the prerogative of its schoolteachers, while there were two teachers in Lorino High School—one for PE and another one for *NVS*. The youth of Lorino shared that everyone was welcomed to *NVS* classes after the main curricular classes of Math and Russian, and that the gym was always full of kids from grades 5-11. In the face of the great popularity of *NVS*, its coach, Lyubov Tyneneut, was very strict in selecting her students for the district and regional tournaments. Winners of the regional Chukotka contest went to the Russian Championships for the Arctic Multiathlon, and athletes from Lorino and Novoe Chaplino are often among them.

While *NVS* is an extra curriculum in Lorino and Novoe Chaplino communities, it is not taught as such in Sireniki. One current resident came to Sireniki in 1970 as a

PE teacher and remained the only one there until recently. He reported that *NVS* was never an extra curriculum in the Sireniki School due to a shortage of PE teachers. Nevertheless, he included *NVS* in the so-called "Program of PE" of the Federal Educational Program rather than swimming, skiing, and other sports, which had no facilities in Sireniki. Thus, Chukchi and Yupik students had their *NVS* within PE classes, and the former teacher demonstrated to me his pictures of Sireniki students practicing seal jumps, triple jump, and wrestling in the gym. The only evidence of doing NVS outside was footage from the Whale Day in 1988. During our small celebration in Sireniki in August 2011, youth wanted to organize *NVS* outside as part of the Village Day. Students were very enthusiastic about it and were eager to organize "Walrus Wrestling." One of the local schoolteachers, however, suggested that nobody would do *NVS*, and young men also began playing soccer. The current PE teacher is also the only one.

At the same time, archival pictures from the Whale Day festival in 1988 provide conclusive evidence of the practice of the Arctic multiathlon in Sireniki (see Appendix C). I have no pictures for earlier times in Lorino, though I do have some stories told by Chukchi informants from Nuniamo and Akkani, including statements from a Nuniamo person, who lives in Lavrentiya now, that he remembered Chukchi competing in running, and more than that, that the participants tried to hide the fact of practicing itself, so that their competitors would never learn about it. This remark is very characteristic of *Lorintsy*, who have their own crew secrets of winning the Beringia race on oars. Akkani-born Gennady Inankeuyas told us, sitting near his cabin in Akkani and pointing with his hand towards Yandogay, that before relocation, people from Yandogay (a closed community over the hill from Akkani) came to play soccer here and Akkani always won.

Youth from Lorino practice with a wooden stick and measure the longest throw (see Appendix B). Chukchi children and teens spend a lot of time with hunters, ready to do any work in order to be right next to the mature hunters in Akkani and the cabins of Lorino (see Appendix B). Youth also help with butchering

and pulling the meat, and in making *baidaras*. In 2011, the winner of the youth Beringia from Lorino went to Karelia to participate in the boat race and to represent Chukotka and its traditional skin boats. They took with them the walrus hide, which spoiled during the flight and the high summer temperatures. The race official offered young Chukchi the chance to leave the competition and come next year. Rather, seven young Chukchi competitors improvised with some plastic material on the baidara frame, and won the race with a new record. The video from this race about the process of making the skin boat shows them practicing throwing the wooden stick – an imagined harpoon – when they had a moment to relax (Kizhskaya Regatta 2011).

Current young generations of Yupik and Chukchi have not spent much time with hunters or playing with imagined harpoons striking the whale or walrus. On the contrary, they spent time playing some Russian games on the beach and wandering around the village (see Appendix C). I saw none of them in the hunters' realm asking questions or helping. Anna Kerttula (2000) wrote in her book *Antler on the Sea* that the hunters' cabin, the one near the shore, was occupied mostly with men and even though women could come, they did not do so often.

3.7 Native dance groups

I now turn here from outdoor gatherings to those performed indoors in places like schools or community centers, and draw your attention to the Lorino and Sireniki native dancing groups.

"Kig'yak" (Kig'yak 2012) is a dance ensemble from Sireniki, the oldest one in Chukotka. "Kig'yak" has its ethnic and cultural history as well. Nutaugie, a Yupik hunter and dancer from Old Chaplino, came to Sireniki and organized "Kig'yak" in 1948. Nutaugie knew Russian, Chukchi, English, and all dialects of Eskimo (Medvedev 2010). According to the newspaper article *Parina Solnechnoj Doliny* (Parina from the Sun Valley), Nutaugie taught some Sireniki people to dance motion dances, and one of his best students was Parina - a girl from Imtuk. In the 1950s,

"Kig'yak", with Parina as a leader, united the whole community of Sireniki with sea mammal hunters, fur farmers, and local intelligentsia (Medvedev 2010). The newspaper article cited and, along with my semi-structural interview, supported the idea of sea mammal hunters being the core of the community. Inna Isakova, a granddaughter of Sivugun—one of the first "Kig'yak" dancers—remembered that the sea mammal hunters of Ankalin and other men also danced. The current director of the community center and "Kig'yak" art director, shared that many hunters danced back in those times—Nikolay Ranumai, Andrey Ankalin, Nikolay Pavi, and many others. "Kig'yak" is based in the local community center, which itself is a small ugly building without any windows, which is sometimes used for meetings and disco dances. In 2008, during my first introduction to Sireniki, the director of the Community center opened it, and "Kig'yak" danced for visitors. The Sireniki dancing group does not travel a lot with their program, even to Provideniya—and never to Lavrentiya for Beringia. According to the official website of the Chukotka Department of Culture, the time line for "Kig'yak" travels ended in the 1990s (Kig'yak 2012).

"Lorinskie Zori" and "Gichivk'ey" (2012) are dancing ensembles from Lorino, both of which perform annually at the local, district, and regional levels in Lorino, Lavrentiya, Novoe Chaplino, and Anadyr. Lorinskie Zori is a Yupik group under a Yupik male leader, while "Gichivk'ey" is Chukchi, with a female leader. In the summer of 2011, I questioned the art directors of both the "Gichivk'ey" and "Kig'yak" troupes about their history, festivals, and problems. Thus, Viktoria Ryphirgina, the "Gichivk'ey" leader, shared that she started her group in 2000, when her daughter offered to separate from Lorinskie Zori, which performed mostly Eskimo dances, to create a new dance program with only Chukchi songs and dances. Viktoriya and her daughters have since devoted their performances to Chukchi cultural heritage. Her husband's boat team won the Beringia race in 2005, for example, so Viktoria and her daughters created the skin boat dance.

A very important feature supporting Chukchi and Eskimo dancing groups in Lorino is a completely new building for the Community center. Under the same roof as where the Lorino mayor manages the community and his wife, as the district/borough deputy, runs the public library, the space of the club holds meetings of any category: government, announcement, hunters meetings, disco and native dances, movie screenings, and elders meetings. Disco dance displays several impressive factors compared to Novoe Chaplino. In my experience, every Friday and Saturday, the Lorino *DND – Dobrovolno Narodnaya Druzhina* (volunteer team) monitored drinking and order in the Community center. There was no entry fee, and both youth and adults enjoyed dancing. I was very surprised to watch the men dancing as well. Students under the 8th grade were not allowed. By that time, it cost 60 rubles [$2] for entry to similar dances in both Novoe Chaplino and Sireniki. In Novoe Chaplino, there were no volunteers to observe order, only girls danced, and small kids attended too.

I had no chance to experience disco dance in Sireniki. Firstly, the community center had refused to organize them as a result of neglect toward the entry fee—there was a flyer at the city hall saying that debtors are not allowed until they pay. Dance fees were meant to earn some money for further entertainment like games and prizes for the center—the district Community center in Provideniya does not provide much, and every branch must earn its own revenue. Secondly, the building was closed for repairs. The Lorino club, meanwhile, was open all the time within its working hours, and people stopped there occasionally. There were rooms for each of the troupes, a big hall, wardrobe, director's office, toilet, and a movie room with chairs. There was simply no such place for gathering in Sireniki.

Chapter 4. Chukchi and Yupik language situation

During the school year of 2005, students from Novoe Chaplino High school begged their Eskimo Language teacher to have a class outside—they argued that they did not have educational books anyway (and no books in general), but that by walking they could learn some Yupik words for the Chaplino environment. As a teacher, I was surprised by the complete absence of educational books beginning from the fifth grade, and I imagined that Roman Abramovich might wish to help with the matter. The Yupik language was heard only during dancing gatherings and during the Chukotka Decade: villagers conversed with each other while spraying water on their skin drums, and students demonstrated their skills in Chukchi and Yupik by reading poems. Still, the Russian language was the dominant tool of communication here, and Novoe Chaplino residents used it exclusively most of the time. My visit to the Chukotsky district in 2008, meanwhile, allowed me to hear fluent speech in the Chukchi language: the head of the district used his first mother tongue, though he was Russian, and the Chukchi people followed. After Novoe Chaplino, the situation of Chukchi speaking their language seemed incredible, and after visiting Sireniki I had even more questions that called for exploration. This chapter explores the domains of these native language situations in Lorino and Sireniki.

Lorino is a mostly Chukchi speaking community, made up of both Reindeer and Maritime. There are also some Naukan and Novoe Chaplino Yupik, who also claimed to understand Chukchi. Sireniki, meanwhile, has two major native languages spoken—Chukchi and Eskimo. In the past, people in Sireniki spoke the so-called *starosirenikovski yazyk* (old Sireniki language), though the last two women who knew it died in 1998, and it is now extinct (Kerttula 2000). The Yupik or Eskimo language, as it is called in Chukotka, belongs to the Paleosiberian languages (as does the Chukchi language), made up of several Eskimo-Aleut and Chukotko-Kamchatkan language families. Eskimo is divided into groups of Yupik and Inuit,

with the Yupik group, for its part, including the Siberian Yupik languages and their subdivisions of Chaplinski and Naukansky.

Regarding languages spoken in Sireniki, Nikolay Vakhtin (1998) noticed that the "genetic affiliation of, the so-called, Old Sirenikski is unclear," and he suggests that this might be a third group under the Eskimo family, so that Eskimo would rather include Inuit, Old Sirenikski, and Yupik (Vakhtin 1998:161). Even though the last speaker of Old Sirenikski passed away more than a decade ago, people in Sireniki claimed that they still speak their own language—Sirenikovski. Though this is indeed the case according to the space realm, linguistically, *Sirenikovtsy* speak the Chaplinski, which became their language as a result of language relocation policy and kinship ties.

The Chukchi language is a branch of the Chukchi-Kamchatka language family; some of its speakers often call it the *lauravetlyan* language. Compared to the Yupik spoken in Chukotka, Chukchi has always had more speakers because of population numbers. According to the Russian Census 2010, there were 15,908 Chukchi and 1,738 Yupik in Russia (Russian Census 2010), of which 12,772 and 1,529, respectively, lived in Chukotka (Russian Census 2010). Chukchi dominates Yupik in population size, then, by almost ten times. The situation with native language is on the same level—5,095 people in Russia speak the Chukchi language vs. 508 who speak Yupik (Russian Census 2010).

Compared to Yupik, the Chukchi language possesses its own distinct feature—gender division. Both linguists and speakers note that Chukchi has a male language, which can be phonetically characterized by the sound [r] that prevails in the words used among tundra herders. While doing house work in their skin tents, women used their own language, distinguished by the sound [c] in place of the male [r]. Michael Dunn (2000) called this phenomenon "sociolects" in his paper "Planning for Failure: the Niche of Standard Chukchi." According to his research, the Chukotka government standardized female and male Chukchi languages into one—the men's language. Dunn (2000) does not provide an exact date for the beginning of this

standardization, though he writes that the linguist Pyotr Skorik codified the Chukchi grammar around 1961-1977. It has clearly been a long while, however, since the Chukotkan educational books, publications, newspaper articles, and radio have used this male Chukchi language.

The Working group of Arctic Social Indicators (Larsen et al 2010) provides some data for native language use in Arctic states such as Canada, Greenland (Denmark), Chukotka (Russia), and Alaska (USA), based mainly on the 2002 Census figures. According to the ASI group, regarding "Indigenous Language Use as a Child," of the roughly 67 % of the Chukchi population who learned their mother tongue as a child in Chukotka, about 64 % knew it because their parents spoke to them in their childhood. Other charts present some data regarding Chukchi Understanding (40 %), Speaking (37 %), Reading (25 %), and Writing (58 %). 2 % of Chukotka native peoples used their native languages all the time, and 45 % did not use it at all. The level of language retention, according to ASI, was 67 % for the Chukchi language (representing about 10,000 speakers out of the total 15,000 population size) and 57% for Yupik (1,300 out of 2,300). I verified this data, using the same formula so that I could come up with some contemporary information on native language retention in Chukotka. One of the charts of the 2010 Russian Census, "On the indigenous language knowledge in the Russian regions," presents the following: 3,662 Chukchi out of a total population of 12,772 possess the knowledge of their native language, and 436 Eskimo out of a total population of 1,529 have knowledge of their language. In this case, according to the formula, language retention is almost the same 28 % for both ethnic groups.

This chapter on language use shares quantitative data of the 2010 Russian Census and the personal language questionnaires created in my own Department of Anthropology, under the guidance of linguist Mark Sicoli. To start, Sicoli asked that I write my own questions based on my particular research interests. The two of us spent some time talking about relevant geographical settings, as well as the cultural sea mammal hunting and skin-boat and dance practices. Ultimately, we developed a

questionnaire focused on family, occupation, space, gender, and texting in native languages. In order to examine language retention at various life periods, we created three age groups: 10-30, 31-55, and 55+. Gail Davidson of UAF helped to create the charts that follow, which illuminated each question from age and gender perspectives. We had 15 participants in Lorino and 22 in Sireniki. I recognize that the data sample is small, though I contend that it provides some important insights into the language situation of my two case studies.

Additionally, in this chapter on the language situation in Lorino and Sireniki, I look at the use of language across three different factors based in the Leena Huss and Anna-Riitta Lindgren article (2011) "Introduction: defining language emancipation." I will compare the use of Chukchi and Siberian Yupik languages in the Lorino and Sireniki communities, respectively, through this article's use of the following theoretical background:

- *Macro level or state level*, comprising education, media, cultural life, social life, and implicit language policies;
- *Group level or NGO level*, consisting of grassroots activities for language revitalization, community-based language education, language nests, and evening classes for adults; and
- *Individual level, families or non-institutional level*, embodying private efforts to (re) learn the language, language choice in families, bilingualism, choice of language instruction for children, etc. (Huss and Lindgren 2011:13).

Nielsen (2007) and Kerttula (2000) wrote that coastal people were using their native languages less and less, preferring Russian. Bent Nielsen (2007) argues that the knowledge of the Eskimo or Chukchi language put speakers in a second-rate position or passive role, as they were not able to communicate in Russian well enough. In addition to the overall effects of Russian colonialism, the native language use of both groups was heavily affected by the Soviet policy of relocation. Today, there are only 12 villages on the coast of the peninsula, whereas previously (1930) there had been up to 90 of them (Holzlehner 2009). Traditionally, the indigenous

peoples of Chukotka chose convenient sites for settlement: sites with fresh water, a good view, proximity to the sea, or a rich subsistence life. Their languages, Chukchi and Siberian Yupik, were also connected to this traditional way of life. The Soviet government, however, "brought a diametrically opposed spatial logic to the region" (Holzlehner 2009). Holzlehner (2009) argues that relocation led to the "loss of language, cultural expressions, and hunting grounds" in the new villages.

At the macro level, there are both similarities and differences across the native language situations in Sireniki and Lorino. Each community has preschool and so-called secondary school—the latter comprising elementary, middle, and high school. Native language classes are scheduled three times a week in the elementary school and once a week in middle and high schools. There is no recently published educational literature allowing students to study in their native language in either village after the fifth grade. In practice, native language curricula is not considered to be as important as subjects of Russian language and Math.

Social effects heavily influenced the native language situation in both villages. For example, some Chukchi students confided that they were shy to use Chukchi at home, as their pronunciation was not exact enough, and their parents made fun of them. By contrast, no Eskimo informants from Sireniki mentioned being teased when they tried to speak their language. Kavakvyrgina, a teacher of Eskimo in the 1990s, shared that there is a contradiction to learning: those children who actually speak the language must hide their knowledge—the villagers who do not know the language simply laugh at these students otherwise (Omelchenko 1991). On other hand, said Kavakvyrgina, it was good when her students knew even a little bit. The contemporary examples speak to the fact that both languages are in use within families, though there are unequal pressures on different generations. Nevertheless, at the individual level, some people have been successful in maintaining their language skills. The best example of this was the case of a young Eskimo hunter, who said that he was fluent in his native language until the age of 10, during which time he had lived with his grandmother, until she died in 2000.

Another aspect that appeared to be extremely salient was the spatial element of language use, which in some sense tied each of these three levels together. Sea mammal hunters sometimes communicate in their native language during the whale or walrus hunt in their boats. Hunters from Lorino use the former village of Akkani—a settlement that had been closed by the government—as their remote hunting site, where they take their children to learn hunting skills. Akkani is a real "language nest," where the traditional ways of life and language are natural and coexistent (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:50). Sireniki hunters do not possess such a language community, due to the ironic fact that their official village has better access to the sea and its resources. I will elaborate on this issue further and discuss the spatial effect of language use later in this chapter.

4.1 Chukchi and Eskimo languages at the macro level

The classic illustration of macro-level support for native languages is the official print media. The Chukotka autonomous region has its own weekly newspaper, the *Krainii Sever* (The Extreme North). This is a partly bilingual, Russian-Chukchi paper. As a result, although some articles are available in the Chukchi language, there are rarely any articles in any third language, including Eskimo. Similarly, Carl Weinstein (2012) mentions some TV programs and newspapers in the Chukchi language, and Gurvich (1966) wrote that there was a radio- and TV-broadcasting in Chukotka, and that the newspaper the *Sovetkan Chukotka* (Soviet Chukotka), established in 1953, published articles in Chukchi, Yupik, Even, and other native languages. It was closed in the 1990s, however, and since then only particular articles in the Chukchi language have occurred in the *Kraini Sever.*

The examples of the *Krainii Sever* and the earlier *Sovetkan Chukota* illustrate the power of the old Soviet state policy of providing some official information in the language of the ethnicity after whom the county is named. As in other national autonomous districts across Russia, the Chukchi autonomous region has an

obligation to publish in Chukchi. Nevertheless, since Chukotka does not have republic status, its native languages cannot be second official languages—languages of power—as they are in the Sakha, Komi, Mari, and Udmurt Republics, etc. (Zagidullin et al 2011:7). In the post-Soviet era, the Russian Federation passed a law declaring all languages to be equal (Russian Federal Law 2006). As Zagidullin et al (2011:8-10) note, however, even this formal equality is not met in practice, for a number of different reasons.

As mentioned above, there are no recently published textbooks in the Chukchi or Eskimo languages at the secondary school level. Most of the existing educational literature was published before 1930. The newspaper article by Omelchenko (1991) "S chego nachinaetsa Rodina" [Where the Motherland begins], published in the special Sireniki handmade newspaper archive *Budni Sirenikov 1985-86, 91 yy* [Sireniki everyday in 1985-86, 91] and found in the school library provides an interview with teachers of the native languages: L.F. Mumikhatykak and T.G. Zabudko (Chukchi language) and N.I. Akberdina, N.I. Kavakvyrgina, V.F. Ankalina, and N.P. Skhaugie (Eskimo). Ankalina said that in the period of 1976-1979, there were no native languages at all in schools. As a result, all schoolbooks disappeared, resulting in a whole generation of *bezyazychnykh* (speechless, literally "tongue-less"). Personally, I found that many people connect their native language to their ethnic identity. A Yupik person who speaks Russian as his first language or only language, for example, may be called tongue-less for not speaking any native language at all. In the same article by Omelchenko (1991), Ankalina observes that the Chukchi language is better preserved, as Chukchi kids can retreat to the tundra, where people still speak Chukchi. One of the teachers and a long time resident agrees that the Chukchi language is better preserved on the tundra because there "Chukchi have to call things by their own names." At the end of the article, Kavakvyrgina tells the story of foreigners coming to Sireniki, wondering why people there would learn their native language, and answers their question: "we cannot live without it, otherwise we have nothing—culture or history and memory"

(Omelchenko 1991). The last Eskimo primer was published in 1990; nothing else since that time has been produced for the purpose of providing Chukchi and Eskimo language instruction at the school level. Meanwhile, all students in Sireniki and Lorino have an English as a second language educational book for the second to eleventh grades.

Trosterud and Fedina (2011), along with other participants from the international conference "Minority Languages in the Computer Technologies: Experience, Tasks, and Perspectives," held in Ioshkar-Ola, Mari Repaublic in 2011, argued that any indigenous language needs digital linguistic tools to be able to produce digital writing. The Russian company ParaType (2012a, b) created Cyrillic fonts for every nationality in Russia in 2010 (Fridman and Iakupov 2011). For the Chukchi language, there are three extra letters—ӄ, ӈ, ӆ—and for Yupik, five—ғ, ҳ, ў, ӄ, ӈ (ParaType 2012a, b). Although these typefaces now exist, none of them is in use in Chukotka, as existing software does not support them, nor is there a specialized keyboard to use them. Even the official Chukotka *Krainii Sever* still publishes some articles in Chukchi with the letters k', n', l' rather than the formal ӄ, ӈ, ӆ, in its "Krainii Severs' project in Chukchi language" (Rykova 2012). Zagidullin et al (2011) argues that if a minority language lacks "digital presentation," enabling it to be equal and functional in the era of new information technologies, then it has no chance to be a language of full value, and will be washed away from use (Zagidullin et al 2011: 6). These special Chukchi and Yupik letters not only represent an era of language digitalization, but their physical presence on the keyboard can empower language minorities in Chukotka to maintain their mother tongues and using them in broader ways.

The Chukotka Department of Education holds an Olympics in the Eskimo and Chukchi languages every school year, but fewer and fewer students are able to represent school, community, and municipality, and ethnic groups there. According to data from the questionnaires, only two informants from Sireniki and Lorino, both aged 15, can carry on conversation in these languages. Chukchi and Eskimo people

born in the 1990s have not had the facilities and modern tools needed, such as the native language keyboard and literature mentioned, to learn and maintain their languages on the same level as Russian and English. Figure 4.1, 4.2 shows the answers to the question regarding where native language is used. Informants could choose the answer or offer their own— Sireniki respondents offered the additional "church" and "nowhere." By these, results, home and school host the native languages primarily; we will return to these realms in the discussion of the individual level. Figure 4.3, 4.4 shows what informants can do in their native languages.

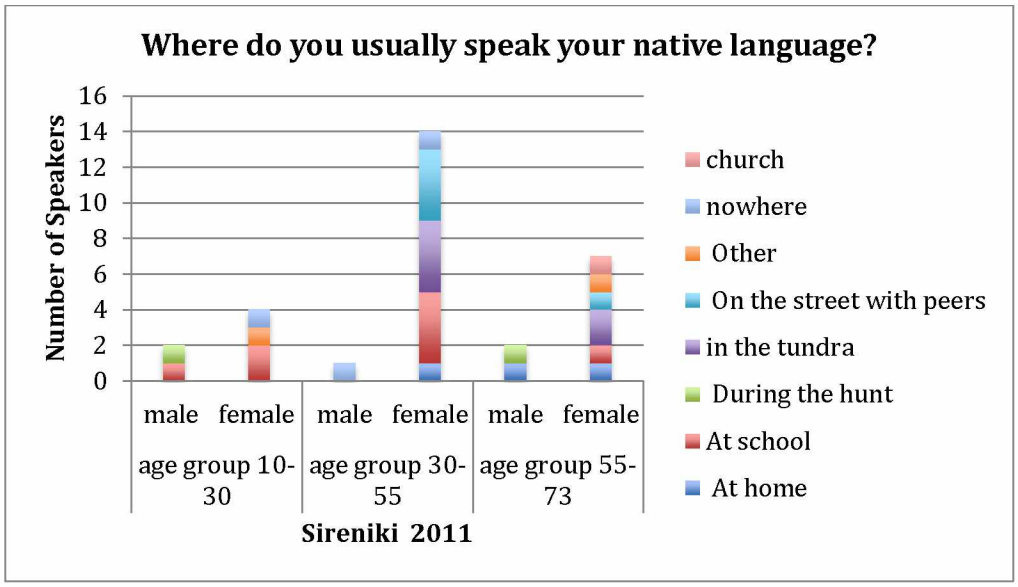

Figure 4.1 Spatial use of native languages in Sireniki

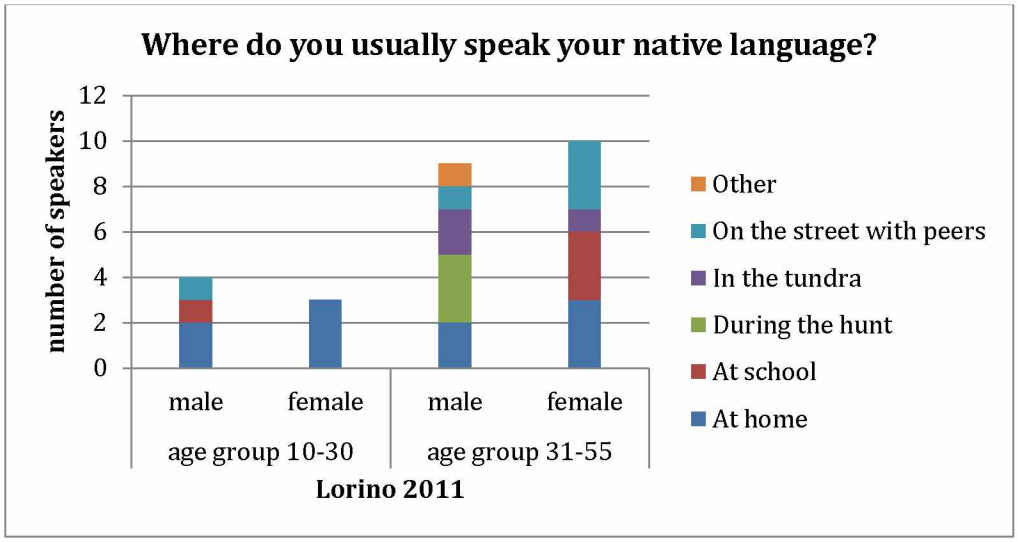

Figure 4.2 Spatial use of the native language in Lorino

Eskimo and Chukchi speakers in Sireniki chose school as the place where they could communicate in their native languages, to a slightly larger extent than in Lorino.

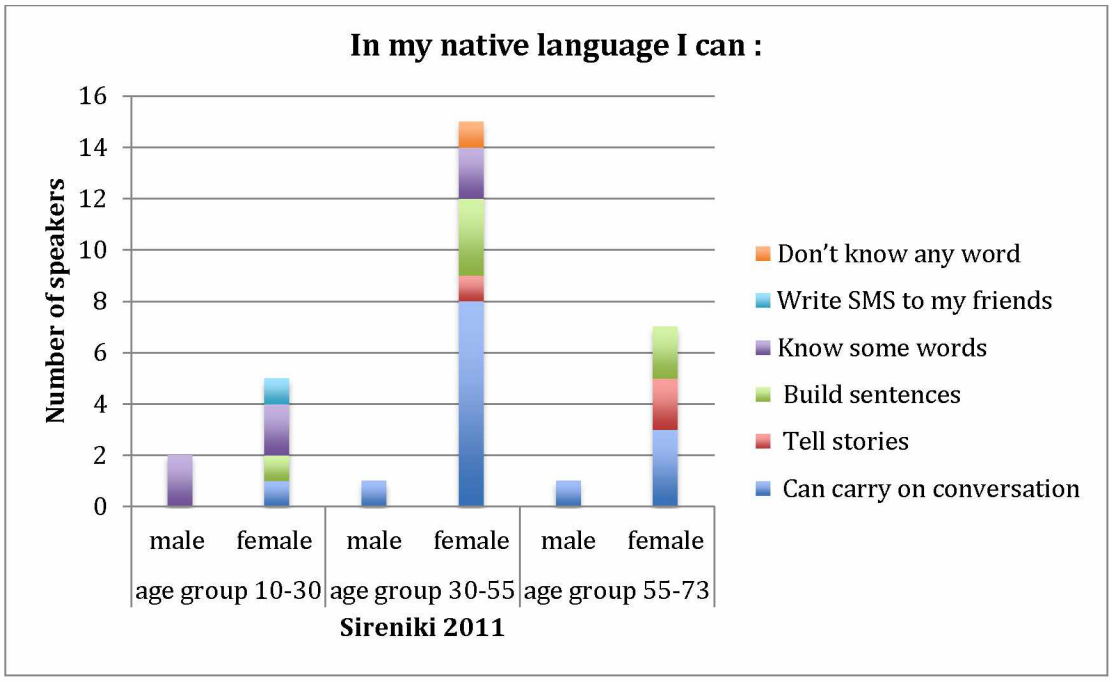

Figure 4.3 Native language proficiency in Sireniki

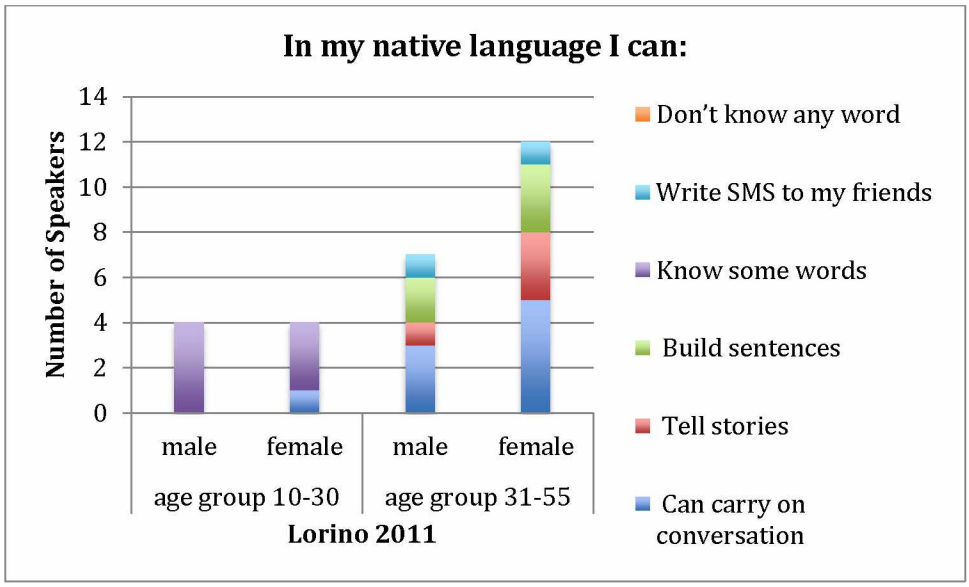

Figure 4.4 Native language proficiency in Lorino

The situation of those using language as a secret tool that separates indigenous peoples from the majority looks different from Lorino to Sireniki, though the number of informants was not large.

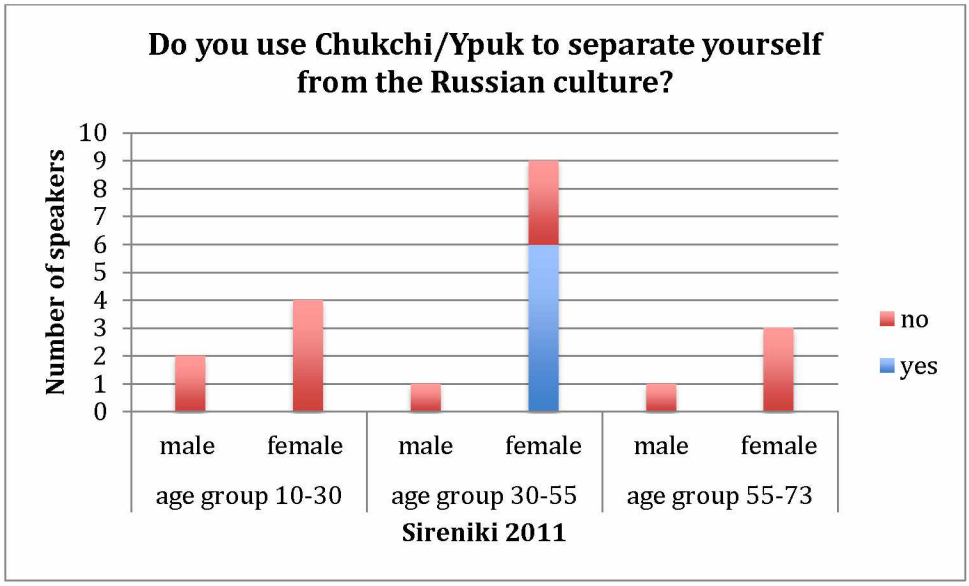

Figure 4.5 Languages as an identity marker in Sireniki

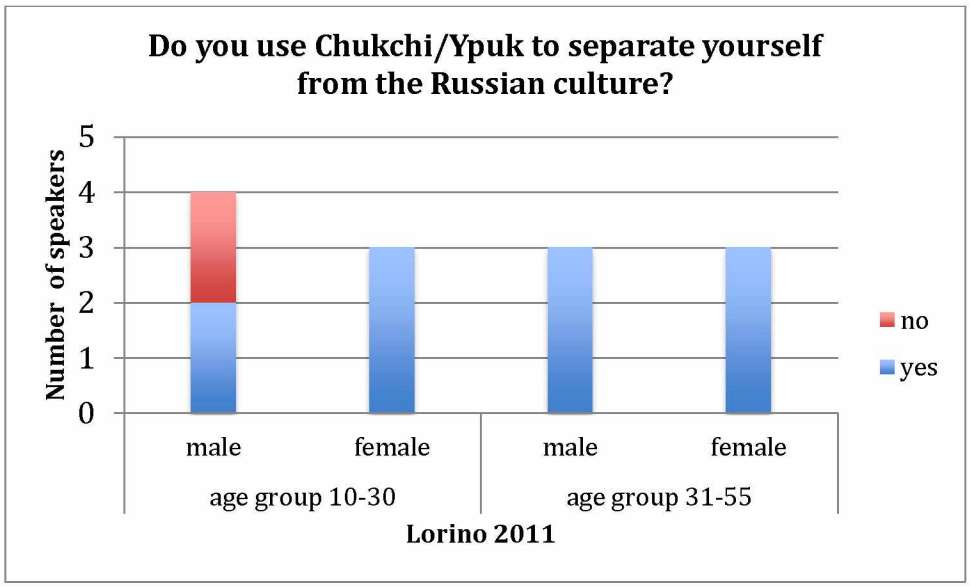

Figure 4.6 Languages as an identity marker in Lorino

The language situation was affected by the state relocation policy. Chukchi people, both Reindeer and Maritime, moved to Lorino and created a new cohesive community, maintaining their identity and language and occupying a majority there. Sireniki, by contrast, first became home for many Russians, especially militaries and service personnel, and then after for relocated Reindeer Chukchi (Kerttula 2000). Some Chukchi women shared that they missed speaking their language—that there are fewer and fewer speakers and they still love to go to the tundra on any occasion to talk.

4.2 Sea mammal hunters and local native dance ensembles at a group level

The *obschina* of marine mammal hunters, based on kinship or co-residence, represents one of the group level factors by which local language exists. There are 60 people employed by the obschina; 40 of them are active sea mammal hunters in the Chukchi village of Lorino. These hunters maintain their office in the community and their hunting site 30 minutes to the north by boat, built in the relocated settlement of Akkani. Each boat crew has its own cabin where, during the summer of 2011, there was approximately one child per hunter. While hunting, butchering walrus, and cooking food, people spoke mostly Chukchi, sometimes apologizing in front of a Russian speaker—"it is easier and faster for us to tell our children something in Chukchi." Besides the hunting camp, Akkani serves as a language nest for the Chukchi children (see Appendix B). The situation in Sireniki differs: 12 sea hunters (11 Yupik and 1 Chukchi) have their office in the village, though because of the presence of Russian border-guards, they cannot take their children under the age of 18 with them on hunts to the traditional language environment of the Bering Sea, preventing the opportunity to teach these children their hunting skills and local language. As a result, there is no transition of language knowledge from the older generation, neither at an individual nor a group level—the state, represented by border guards, bans the use of the language itself in the community. In their office, the Eskimo and Chukchi hunters use the Russian language most of the time. During

my fishing trip with people from the Eskimo village of Sireniki, Russian was also the main language used, although hunters used some Eskimo words and phrases to describe their tools, actions, and jokes. I argue that a majority of sea mammal hunters prefer, as a group, to maintain clear markers of ethnicity such as language, traditional subsistence, hunting skills, and special gear, in particular spaces: hunting sites, boats, and the sea. They use Chukchi and Eskimo language in the safe places far away from the dominant Russian environment.

Though the Eskimo dance troupe "Kig'yak" in Sireniki has Eskimo teenagers, the Russian language is their command language during dance practice. Earlier, the group consisted of two parts—an older generation of women, who were very fluent in Eskimo, and students, who were not so fluent. The old women refused to perform with youth, stating that the latter did not dance and sing properly. This dynamic reflects a characteristic disintegration and intolerance that exists in Sireniki. During the Village Day celebration in summer 2011, however, youth wished to sing a song about Sireniki in Eskimo and encouraged other villagers to do the same during their concert.

The leader of the Chukchi dance group "Gichiv'key" has attempted to use her native language to communicate with her group. Children from age seven to fifteen sing their songs in Chukchi during dance performances. There is a Russian participant among them, though she also is included in the Chukchi exchange. Both "Kig'yak" and "Gichiv'key" dance practice take place in the Community center, which has become a space without Russian interference for these groups.

As a part of our language questionnaires, we offered specific landscapes such as the tundra and hunting sites where, as we assumed, the Chukchi and Yupik would use their language. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 present this information, showing that the male Lorino group age 31-55 used it during the hunt, while the corresponding Sireniki group is older—age 55-73. Women from Sireniki use their native languages (both Chukchi and Yupik) on the tundra. In Lorino, both men and women respondents used Chukchi language on the tundra.

Based on personal and field experience and language surveys, I state here that language and space issues overlap, and this overlapping creates an ideal environment for an endangered language to be preserved: people learn and practice the language if it is a key tool for traditional subsistence and cultural aspects of their life, such as those connected to sea mammal hunting, being out on the hunting sites, and within dance groups.

4.3 Chukchi and Eskimo language at the individual level

People from both Lorino and Sireniki use their languages on a personal level as well. Almost all respondents in both villages could read and write in the native language. They shared that there are words and phrases in Eskimo/Chukchi that cannot be expressed in Russian. This information is shown in Figure 4.7 and 4.8. The positions of grandparents and parents appeared to be overwhelming—these are the main speakers and instructors of the native language. A majority of respondents in Lorino pointed to grandparents when answering the question "who talks to you in your native language," though some also named parents as their main teachers. Schoolteachers or 'the one who knows' also had a niche. Figures 4.9 – 4.12 show this information. The source figures that parents and grandparents represented in the language questionnaires point to the family as the main source of the Chukchi and Eskimo languages. All informants shared that they would like their children to speak their native language except for one person in Sireniki, who stated that Eskimo was out of use and that learning it would be a waste of time, since everything is conducted in Russian. Our participants also shared their thoughts about whether or not there was a Chukchi/Yupik culture *without* a language, shown in Figures 4.13 and 4.14.

The language questionnaire also asked about peoples' first language and the language of their parents. We also provide responses and charts regarding other questions about language situations in Lorino and Sireniki. We asked about the first

language people spoke and the language their parents used or still use to talk to them (Figure 4.15 and 4.18).

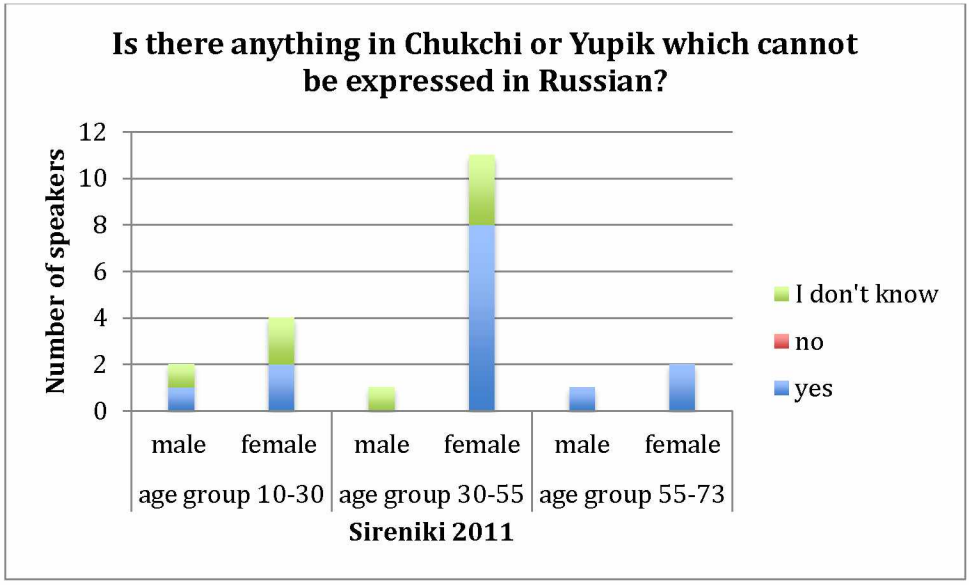

Figure 4.7 Chukchi and Yupik languages use vs. Russian in Sireniki

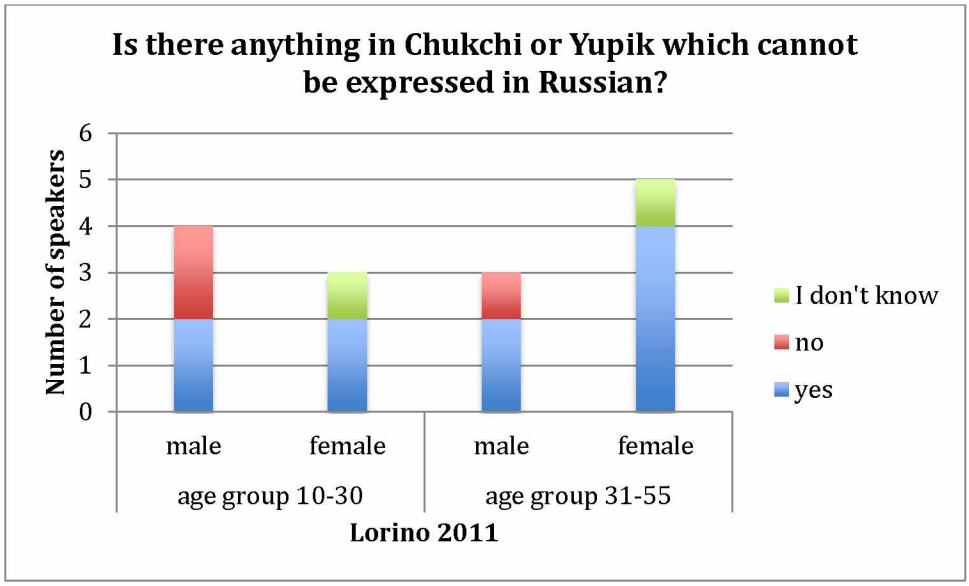

Figure 4.8 Chukchi and Yupik languages use vs. Russian in Lorino

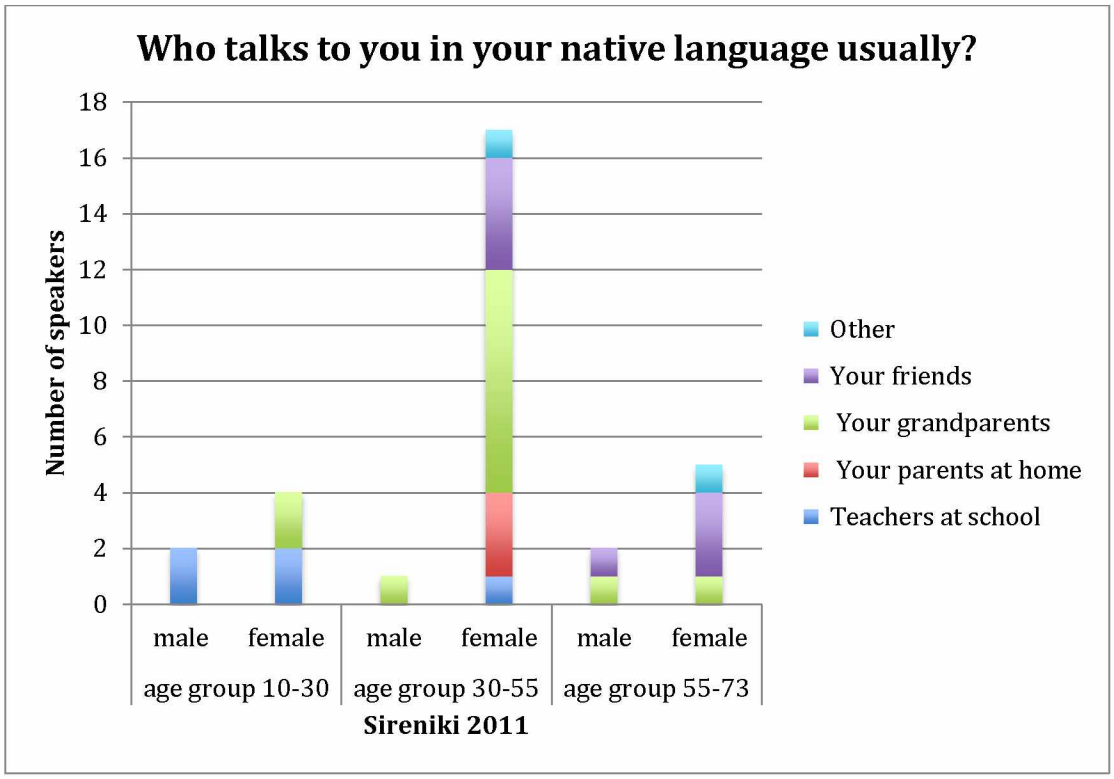

Figure 4.9 The language initiative in Sireniki

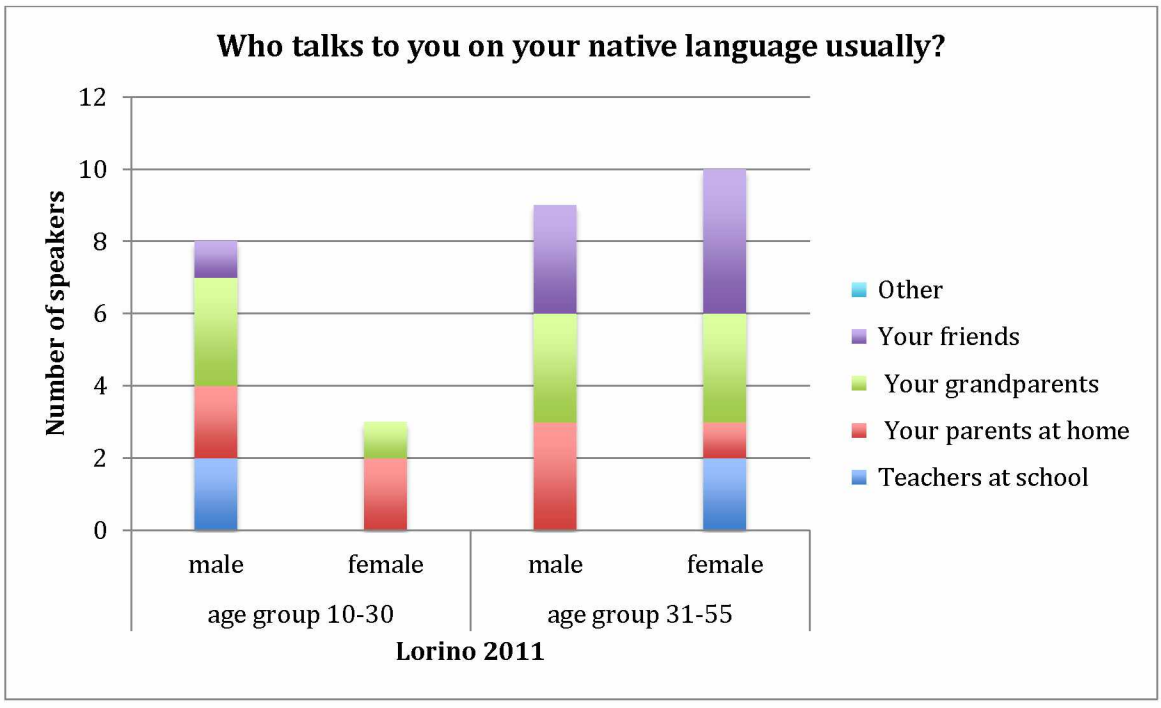

Figure 4.10 The language initiative in Lorino

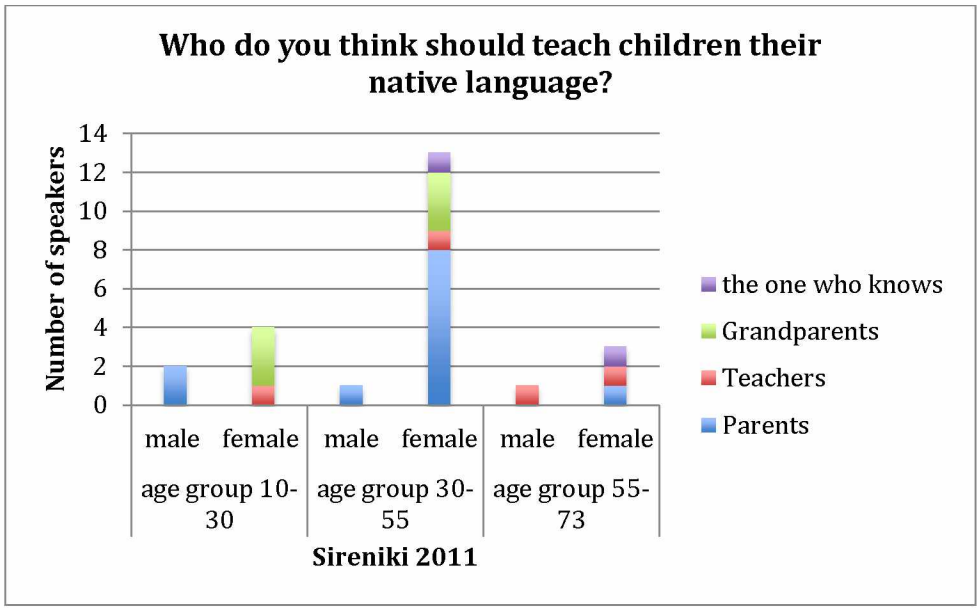

Figure 4.11 Suggested educators of the native language in Sireniki

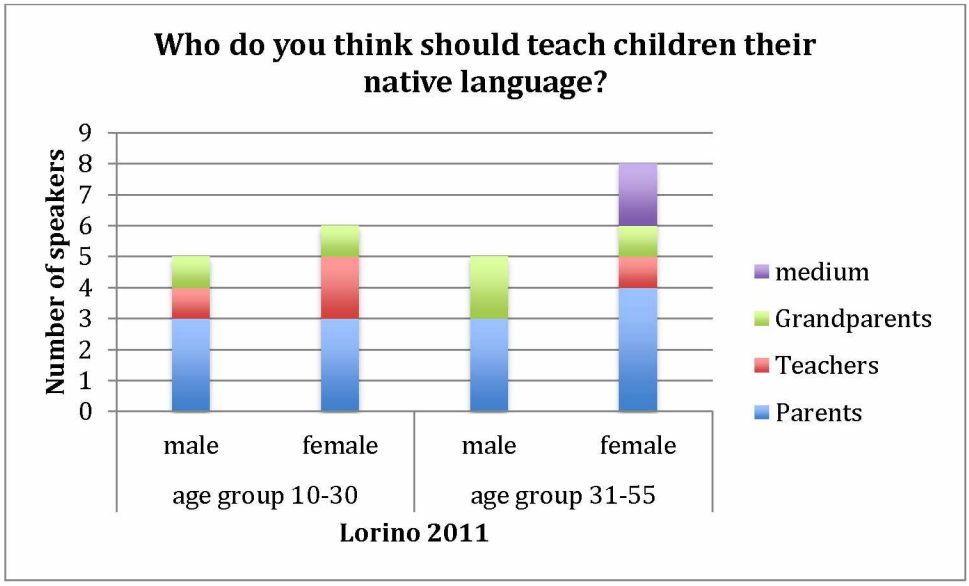

Figure 4.12 Suggested educators of the native language in Lorino

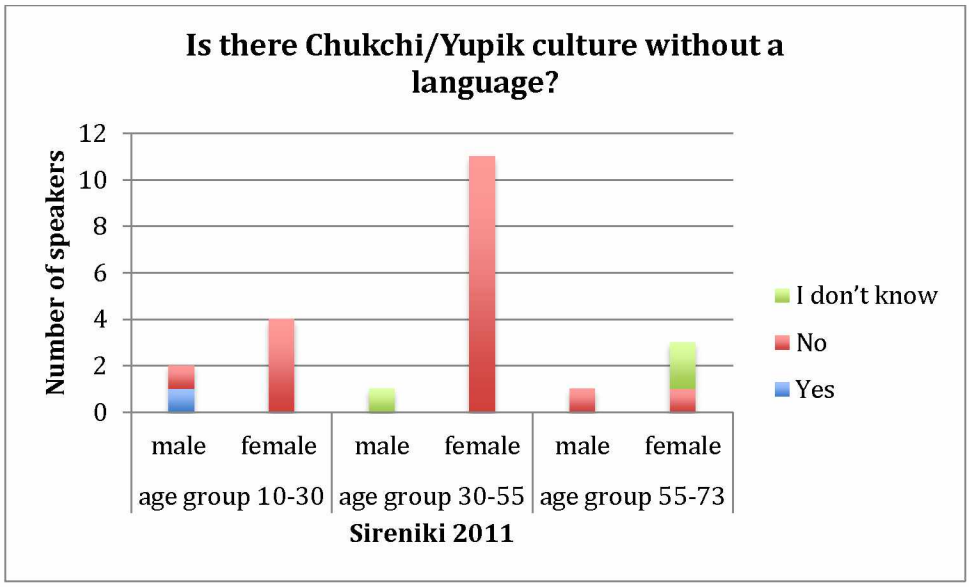

Figure 4.13 Culture retention without language in Sireniki

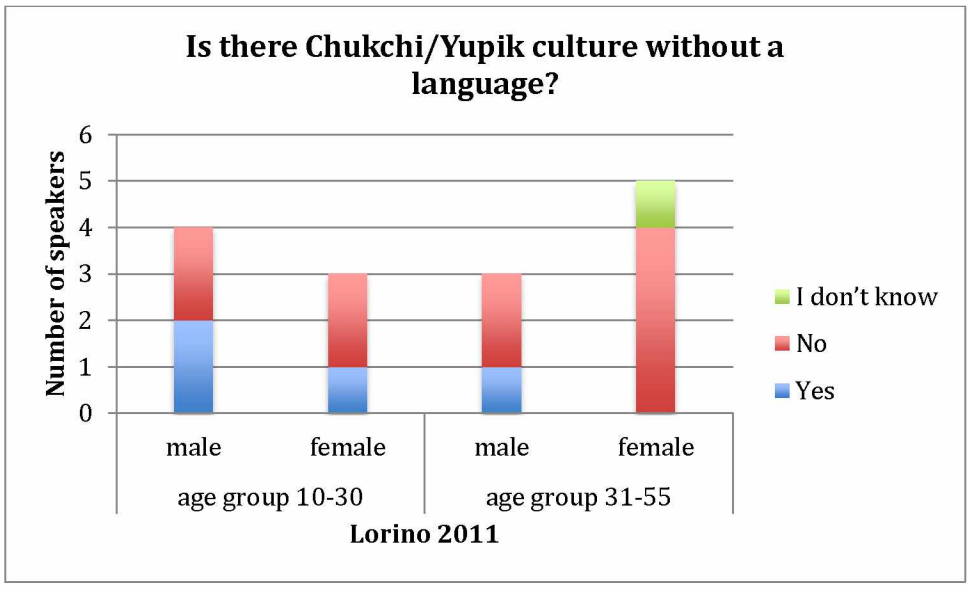

Figure 4.14 Culture retention without language in Lorino

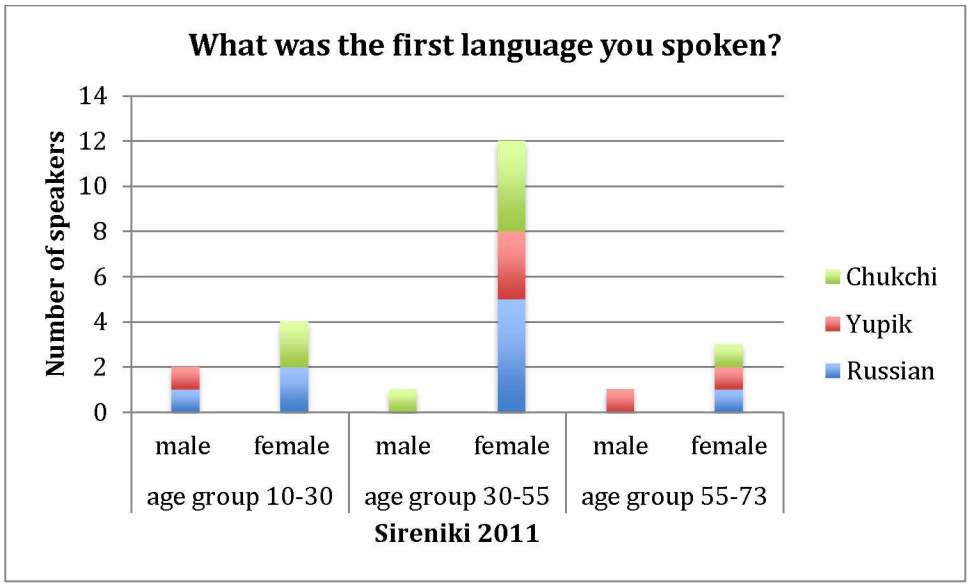

Figure 4.15 The first language informants spoke as a child in Sireniki

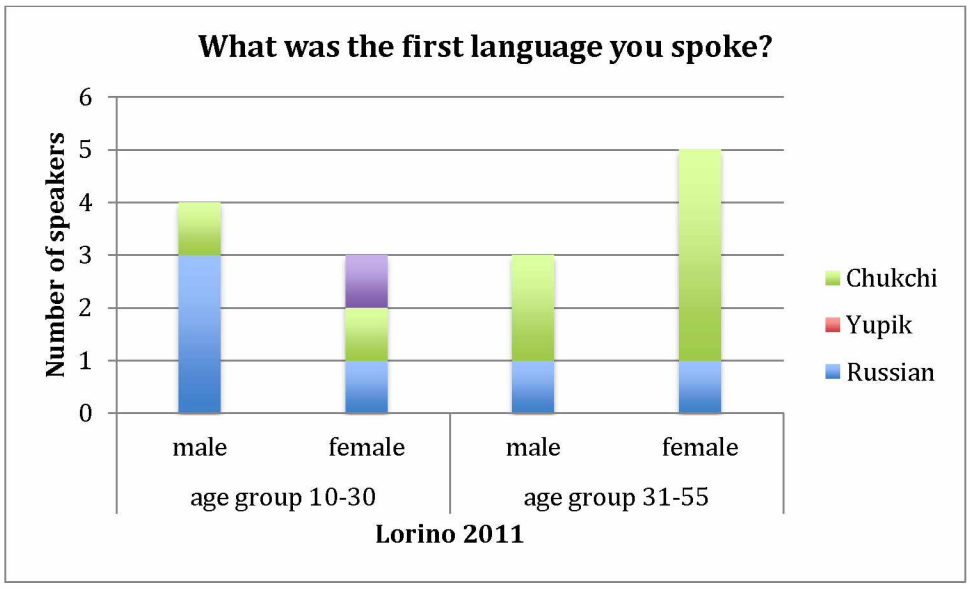

Figure 4.16 The first language informants spoke as children in Lorino

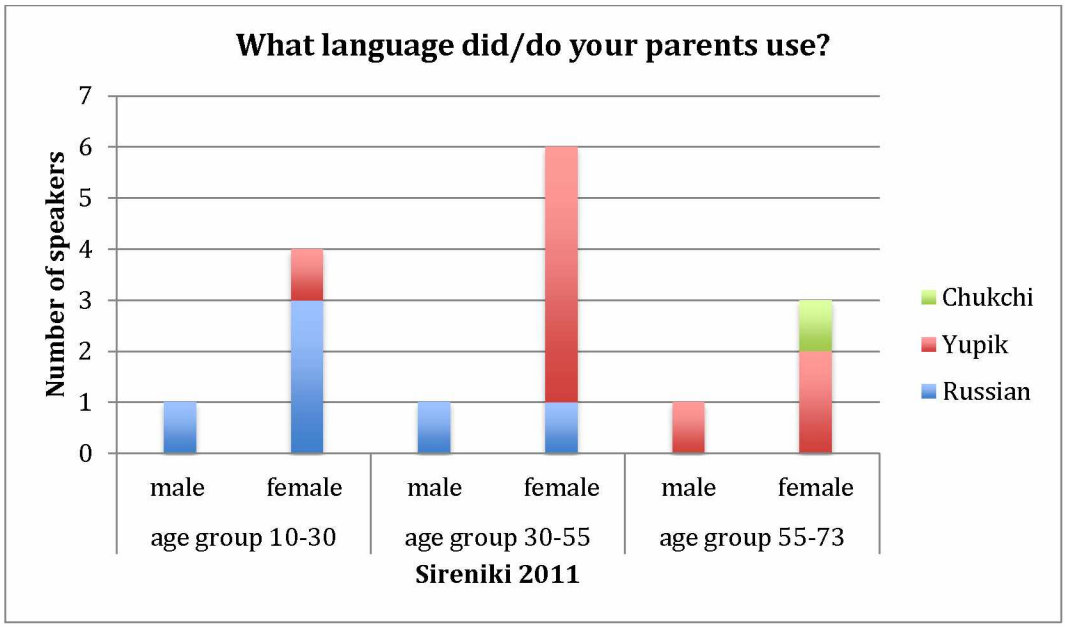

Figure 4.17 The language of the parents in Sireniki

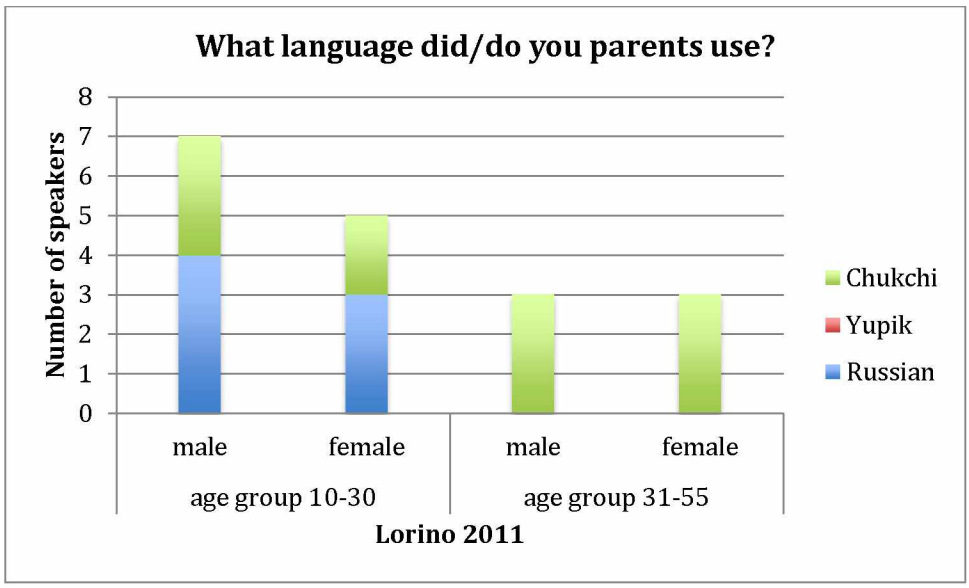

Figure 4.18 The language of the parents in Lorino

We also had some extra answers, which informants wrote down themselves. In Lorino, the question "where do you usually hear your language spoken" had these supplementary responses: "everywhere," "on the radio," and "on the job." On the question of "who do you think should teach children their native language," the new answer of "milieu" appeared. A guest from Neshkan who participated in the Lorino

questionnaire had to live in Lavrentiya in order to get an education. At 15 years old, she is the only one in her age group who can carry on a conversation in Chukchi. Two informants from G-II do not know Chukchi, as one of them did not have parents and another one used to be in the boarding school in Ozerny, Iul'tinsky district, due to tuberculosis. Some informants wrote that they spoke "Lauravetlyan," indicating that they prefer to use this indigenous term to refer to their language.

The Sireniki portion of the language surveys also prompted some new answers. To the question "where do you usually hear your language spoken" we saw the additional "women talk," "I don't know," "in Yanrakynnot" (a Chukchi community where the respondent was from), and "in the village." For the question "where do you usually speak your native language," as mentioned before, we also saw "nowhere" and "church."

Chapter 5. Sea mammal hunting

5.1 Local sea mammal hunting associations in the research communities

Sea mammal hunting has always been part of Chukotka livelihood. Maritime Chukchi and Yupik harvested bowhead whales, walruses, seals, and recently gray whales, using whale jaws to make a dwelling, seal oil for heat and light, and walrus hides to make boats. The Chukchi and Yupik kept the population of these animals at healthy levels. In the 1800s, however, industrial American and Norwegian whaling ships almost emptied the waters of the Bering and the Chukchi Seas of such marine mammals, and the International Whaling Commission was created and the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling was signed in Washington DC in 1946, in order to regulate the whaling harvest. Since that time, Chukotka, along with other countries eligible for aboriginal hunting, has had its own quota of gray, and more recently, bowhead whales. Today, every country that hunts the species must strictly follow the quota policy and provide a report of their use. If they retrieve fewer animals than expected, then their next quota will be less.

In spite of the cultural, historical, and lately international importance of these marine mammal hunters, they can sometimes remain isolated from everyday village life. In Novoe Chaplino, hunters had to go to the Cape Ratvan, at the entrance to the Tkachen Bay, for the spring seal hunt. In the summer time, hunters go to their summer camp Inakhpak, which is a two-hour ride from the community. Such subsistence travel requires hunters to wake up and leave early; I did not sea them often in Novoe Chaplino, but I knew they existed and brought whales to the shore.

For as long as research progressed in my first case study in Lorino, my questions and answers became more narrowly focused upon the hunters and their roles in community life, ethno-cultural practices, and visible well-being—resulting in yet another comparative dimension. Almost all hunters, in both Lorino and Sireniki, are members of the hunting *obschina*, which has its own proprietary

regulations, including its first commandment: "preservation of the marine culture of my people is the purpose of my life" (Vakhrushev 2009:104).

The given comparison between the Lorino and Sireniki communities, then, is built upon the idea of the sea mammal hunting *obschina*, which has always been the core element of the coastal settlements described by Bogoraz (1904), Kerttula (2000), and Kulikov (2002). Mikhail Chlenov and Igor Krupnik (2012), in their chapter *"The 'New Land:' To the History of the Last Migration of the Yupik/Asiatic Eskimo, 1920-1935"* from *Vekhi na mysakh* [Landmarks on the Capes], discussing the last voluntary Eskimo relocation to the west, bring up an argument that past new settlements had appeared around sea mammal hunting crews. In the 2000s, Chukotka had an obschina in every village—both reindeer and maritime. Lorino, with its almost 1,300 villagers, and Sireniki with its 507, are no exceptions. Lorino had 60 people in their *obschina*, with about 40 active hunters. The *obschina* in Sireniki consisted of 17 people, with 12 hunters. Even though this *obschina* used to be about 40 hunters in the 1990s, their number was artificially reduced, and it is now unreasonable for it to return to its earlier. Another reason for such a small number of hunters in Sireniki may be found in a story told by Ankana in Igor Krupnik's (2003) book *Let Our Elders Speak*. She described her childhood in Sireniki in 1920, during which they had a maximum of ten skin houses and five whaleboats, but "there were only three boat crews, because there was not enough of men" (Krupnik 2003:199). *Obschiny* (pl. from *obschina*) were organized based on kinship until the Soviet times, and later were turned into *artely* (pl. from *artel*). Sireniki elder Semen Kutyta, describing the same 1920s timeline, tells Igor Krupnik (2003) that the "boat crews were not stable, hunters did not come together on kinship relationship and changed often" (201).

The contemporary Russian *obschiny* began in the 2000s. Sireniki hunters officially separated from the municipal unitary agricultural production enterprise "Providenskoye," which comprised reindeer herding and sea mammal hunting activities. They became the *Rodovaya Obschina Morskikh Zveroboev "Sireniki"* (ROMZ

Sireniki; literally the "sea mammal hunting association based on kinship") in January 24, 2007. Going back to the relocation time of the 1960s, it is very doubtful that the first *obschina* was based on kinship, which by 2007 consisted of people from Avan, Imtuk, and Kurupka, though they may have been related. Aleksandr Veselov, a Russian engineer, became the chair of the first ROMZ, from 2007 to 2011. In 2011, Sireniki hunters changed their name to the *Territorial'no Sosedskaya Obschina Korennykh Malochislennykh Narodov Severa "Sireniki"* (TSO KMNS Sireniki, literally the "hunting association of small numbered indigenous people of the North based on the territory and neighbor-ship"). Valery Skhaugie became the new elected chair based on unanimous vote. He is avatmiit—i.e., his ancestors came to Sireniki from Avan, which was forcibly closed in 1942.

The Lorino hunting association was established October 1, 2009 (Olegovich 2010). Aleksey Ottoy, the skillful Chukchi hunter from Akkani, became its chair. Ottoy previously held the position of the head of sea mammal hunting branch in the municipal unitary agricultural production enterprise "Kaper," so he had some prior experience in simultaneous, traditional labor and management. Eduard Zdor, an executive secretary of ChAZTO, suggested that Lorino did not organize ROMZ, as the notion of kinship was lost after the policy of relocation (Zdor 2011, personal communication). Lorino organized their obschina based on the territory and neighbor relationship and called it the *Territorial'no Sosedskaya Obschina Korennykh Malochislennykh Narodov Chukotki "Lorino"* (TSO KMNCh Lorino, literally the hunting association of small numbered indigenous people of Chukotka based on the territory and neighbor-ship"). I asked Ottoy about the choice of the word "Chukotka" and not "North" in the name of his *obschina*, and he explained that it was made "in order to be more eligible for quotas' distribution." By quota, we can assume that Ottoy probably meant the whaling quota for the aboriginal hunt. The IWC is aware the group does not include all indigenous peoples of the Russian North, and that it is the Chukchi who participate in the harvest.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, many social programs also ceased. Chukotka stopped receiving the provisions it had been used to. People stated that there were not enough groceries for purchase in the stores. The situation was the worst in the remote villages of Chukotka. The "Zvezdny" whale ship, which provided gray whale meat for the indigenous peoples and fox farms, ended its service after 1994 (Zelensky 1997). Local people had to learn once again how to go whaling.

In the regional *Krainii Sever* newspaper, Aleksey Ottoy told a story of how Lorino hunters became the first among the coastal villages of the Chukchi Peninsula to revive the whale hunt. He said that people began missing whale meat when "Zvezdny" stopped providing it. Their first whale was difficult, as young hunters did not have necessary hunting skills; they sought the help of elders, and later even took them to the sea. The first meat was free—hunters belonged to the sea mammal branch of the so-called municipal agricultural enterprises "Kaper" at that time, and their catch went directly there (Gubanov 2011).

Anna Kerttula (2000) writes that the Siberian Yupik from Sireniki also re-learned to hunt bowhead whales from their neighbors on Saint Lawrence Island. The international Whale Day festival in 1988 gave the young Sireniki hunters an opportunity to revive their whale hunting skills that had been almost forgotten during the era of the "Zvezdny" (Kerttula 2000:159). Further, gray whales had been introduced as game by the Soviet Union—originally the Yupik had harvested only bowheads, due to the fact that they were easier to catch. Bowheads belong to the family of Right Whales—"right" literally meaning big, calm, and not aggressive. In 1994, when Anna Kerttula came to Sireniki, its "local hunters were actively pursuing whale" (Kerttula 2000:159). Shortly before her visit, the hunters themselves harvested their first bowhead whale since 1972. It was a great event in the life of the people of Sireniki; hunters from the villages of both Lorino and Sireniki were still a part of the municipal, collective farm and worked for the state.

Aleksey Ottoy, the chair of TSO Lorino had a "Kaper" position of assistant in the sea mammal branch, also known as *inzhiner po promyslam* (trade engineer), and it is possible he gained the necessary skills of governance and marketing in this role, while Valery Skhaugie had never had a management position besides *brigadir* (whale captain). The latter told that it was very hard for him to convene TSO KMNS Sireniki because they faced processes of renaming, reorganization, and accounting. His explanations and concerns are supported by Schweitzer and Gray's (2000) arguments that all leading positions were taken by Russians or Ukrainians only, while natives, according to paternalism, "lacked the training, experience, connections, and financial resources to take advantages of the new capitalist rules" during the Soviet times (p. 29). The previous Russian chair in Sireniki left and did not want to provide any help to an entirely native obschina that obviously lacked basic knowledge and skills in management and marketing. Sireniki hunters had to go to Provideniya by boat every time they needed help with paperwork from their Russian accountant. Neither was it an easy start for Lorino, and Aleksey Ottoy further reported that it was difficult to begin this new form of self-organization, but that "we have learnt, you can see." Valery Skhaugie in Sireniki wanted changes for the betterment for his village, and promised that I would see changes the next summer, when they took me on the new cargo skin boat for walrus hunting. In the summer of 2012, this boat was still on the shore. In spite of the fact that these marine hunters had pulled the walrus hide onto the frame and trained their younger colleagues in this unique skill, they had not obtained the necessary registration from the Hydrographic Service in Provideniya. One of my correspondents from Sireniki pointed out one positive thing in current *obschina* life—the newly elected chair Valery Skhaugie was Yupik, while the previous chair, Aleksandr Veselov, had been Russian. "You know hunters became friendlier and more united than with Veselov," she observed. She also emphasized that almost all chairs along the coast were native and, to her own opinion, this was the reason they were having more success.

The *obschinas'* leaders have varying relationships with their respective local village administrations. The two do not play the same role in the community life. TSO Lorino has taken more and more of a governing role; during the Village and Indigenous Peoples Day on August 6, 2011, Aleksey Ottoy was the first person on the stage for the opening ceremony of the local festival, even though the current mayor was standing next to him. Further, Lorintsy initiated a local skin-boat race in which only *obschina* whaling crews competed. That year, young people from Lavrentiya attended for the first time, and the head of the district explained later "they saw Lorintsy winning all the time and asked their (Lavrentiya) elders to make baidara for them." Villagers were in charge of the celebration, and when the mayor left, the festival went on. Aleksey Ottoy stayed on the beach, checking boats and people for safety. It was Ottoy who finished the festival with the award ceremony: he thanked the men, women crews, and the guest participants from Lavrentiya, and gave them a TSO prize and some profit money from the Lorino *obschina*. That evening, almost all villagers came to the Village Day award ceremony at the center of the village—again, only Ottoy stood at the Community center, where the ceremony was held. The Russian mayor did not show up that evening. Villagers, including sea mammal hunters, danced till late at night.

The same Village Day celebration did not bring hunters and villagers together in Sireniki. The young people (both Chukchi and Yupik) of Sireniki prepared a small, local Village Day: they made a poster showing their village and a sea hunter, wrote flyers, invited elders, bought small prizes, prepared dances and sport tournaments, and asked sea mammal hunters to come. In contrast to Lorino, Sireniki hunters neither attended nor represented the center of their celebration. The mayor and the art director of the "Kig'yak" dancing group—each of them women, led village Day here. The hunters and other people from Sireniki maintain that the current situation results from a lack of elders in the village. An elder from Naukan who had lived in Sireniki, claimed that "one day all elders died" and that afterward, there was no one to teach the village. Several other people—not only

from Sireniki, but from Provideniya as well—had the same opinion about the Sireniki situation.

When comparing *obschiny* in Lorino and Sireniki, in is necessary to mention the formal current community leaders. The mayor of Sireniki is Natalia Grigorievna Protopopova, a Yakut woman and a teacher by occupation, who has been living here since 1991. Most of the Sireniki correspondents shared that she had done little for cultural life, neither bringing people together to talk about local issues nor organizing village level celebration, and that she demonstrates her care just for show, carrying buckets of coal when the heating plant collapsed rather than bringing villagers together; receiving her mail by helicopter rather than a real postman. Some villagers argued that the community center should preside over cultural life, as its people are trained for and get money for it. The reality, however, is that the community center is closed, there is no collaboration between local agencies, the Yupik stay at home and the Chukchi come together to remember the past, sharing meals and speaking the Chukchi language: everybody lives on their own.

In Lorino, Nikolay Viktorovitch Kalashnikov has been the mayor since 2006. He is an engineer by education and before his current position; he worked in the Utility Service at the same village—a place responsible for the warmth, electricity, and water for the whole community. During my fieldwork, local residents gave him a very good evaluation: he was positive and helpful. At this time, residents talked about support between the main social institutions, and I noticed cooperation among three main organizations in Lorino: the TSO, the Utility Service, and the administration, while the TSO was the center of the village social life. The same organizations in Sireniki work separately to provide social, economic, and cultural benefits apart from one another.

As someone with some experience organizing cultural events at schools, I suspected that there might be someone in Lorino with the skills to bring people together inspiring them to build skin-boats, keep dogs and participate in the races,

and maintain local ethnic celebrations. I began asking about this, and the majority named several of the same hunters' families. Hence, hunters also claimed the cultural continuity and events I was exploring as their responsibility. As Gennady Tomilov pointed out, "if there were no hunters, there won't be anything: skin-boat race, dog-race and the rest." The Sireniki informants, on the other hand, could not name such leaders and claimed that presently, they did not exist. Instead, they recalled their former leaders, who had passed away almost two decades ago.

It is not completely true that Lorino hunters operate independently: they are legally and financially tied to the Chukotka government. The effects of state paternalism remain, as the local associations of indigenous peoples still participate in decision making and governing processes at regional, state, and international levels in Chukotka. Nevertheless, these hunters, involved in the traditional subsistence system, are making their first attempts in managing their subsistence and establishing economic relationships with local villagers, districts, and regions. As such, they are providing economic, social, and cultural benefits to their native communities.

5.2 Subsistence, economy, and management of Lorino and Sireniki

All *obschiny* still maintain their relationship with the Chukotka government. In 2001, Roman Abramovitch, the Russian billionaire, came to govern Chukotka and brought his personal funds to this Russian region. Chukchi, Eskimo, and Koryak also received some assistance from the current governor Roman Kopin and the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev. In 2008, Medvedev came to Chukotka, and Governor Kopin, along with indigenous peoples' representatives, asked him for federal support for the newly established *obschiny* (Krainii Sever 2010). Sea mammal hunters made a statement that cultural and social wellbeing in Chukotka villages remain highly dependent on the efficient practice of traditional sea mammal hunting. Chukotka and Moscow jointly provided approximately $10,118.400, for 2009-2012, in order to renew the boat fleet, engines, guns, etc. By the next

navigation season in 2010, every *obschina* had obtained its three special and fully equipped modules (metal vessels) for holding meetings, storing guns, and running an office. They had also received various new big and small aluminum boats, engines, snow machines, cars, gear, and radio equipment. All these resources were meant to support new, local hunting enterprises for future economic development, independence, and profit.

Lorino and Sireniki began using these resources at different times. Lorino hunters have been using their federal support since the end of 2009, operating as an independent organization, different from the "Keper" state farm. They immediately placed new modules at the center of the village, using one as an office with a secretary and chair and the other for their meetings. By definition, the TSO KMNCh Lorino makes revenue from their hunting service, gasoline, and meat storage—it is forbidden by the International Whaling Commission from selling by itself any meat that comes from aboriginal whaling quotas. Quite simply, everybody who wishes to have fresh meat comes to the beach, retrieves meat, and goes home. Usually, villagers go to the office and pay for the proper dues the next day. The prices villagers pay to the hunters are very affordable: whale is roughly $1.5/kg, walrus about $1/kg—compared with $14/kg for beef from Brazil or pork from Argentina. If a person does not have time to take the meat the day it was butchered—in the case of teachers, for example, he or she may go to the ice cellar and buy it there. Flyers with cellar hours are posted at several locations around the village. The people of Lorino are aware that they must pay for meat, as this money goes directly for fuel to keep hunting at the same speed and level. People from Lorino know that if Lorino hunters do not accomplish the quota of about 50 whales per season (about 120 whales for the whole region of Chukotka), then the International Whaling Commission (IWC) will reduce the quantity of animals available. In other villages, it is common to see the list of debtors in such places as state and administrative buildings, though I did not observe a list of people who owed money to TSO in

Lorino during my fieldwork. The members of TSO Lorino observed that villagers here paid for the required gas, hunting service, and meat storage on a regular basis.

The situation was a little different in Sireniki. My informant shared that previous chair Aleksandr Veselov did not provide keys to the new modules to obschina hunters immediately, and retained newly provided computers at his home for a year. Veselov also intended to retain one boat from the 2009-2012 Federal Program as an alert for hunters to re-elect him. As a result of this previous Russian chair's actions, hunters were still busy hunting and organizing modules for the winter during the summer of 2011. While I was in the village of Sireniki, the new accountant, who had no training in the field, shared with me that the people of Sireniki "owe 150,000 rubles [$5.171] to the *obschina*, they still think that this meat is free, they do not understand that this money goes to pay wages to hunters." When the mayor of Sireniki opened the Village Day celebration, besides the congratulations and a short note regarding the history of the International Indigenous Peoples Day in her speech, she used the opportunity to remind people about the debt and request that they bring money for the hunters' service.

Lorino and Sireniki hunters deal with the harvest of marine meat, transportation, and freshness and refrigeration differently, as they also do with the secondary products of marine mammal hunting such as skin boat building, ivory carving, and meat rolls. Sea mammal hunters from Sireniki were known both as skillful *baidara* builders and the best hunters during the 1980-90s. People of Sireniki keep many black and white images from this time showing hunters at sea and on land, in and near *baidaras*, some of which participated in the Whale Day festival race of 1988. Everybody on the coast is still aware that Sireniki taught other hunters, including Lorino, to built light and maneuverable skin boats. On my way to Sireniki, the driver exclaimed that there is nobody here who could construct *baidara* now. As building a *baidara* can bring some money to *obschina*, a Sireniki resident also shared that recently, Sireniki hunters had been requested to build a skin boat for purchase, but that for some reason someone among them had refused. At the

same time TSO Lorino often builds, sells, and rents skin boats for other villages. I personally saw TSO Lorino in the process of covering *baidaras* with walrus hide, and it takes the whole boat crew, or *brigade*, along with some women to help clean the walrus hair. There is a row of skin boats in the village of Lorino on the beach, while there are none in Sireniki (a single bare frame notwithstanding). With Ottoy as the leader of their successful *obschina*, the village of Lorino has taken the lead positions as the successful hunters, skillful craftsmen, and entrepreneurs of Chukotka.

The Chukotka tradition of ivory carving can also be an additional source of money for *obschina*. Lorino won a grant in 2010 from the "Fond of Social Development 'Kupol,'" which itself is part of the Russian-Canadian gold mining company, providing five extra positions for carvers, thus lessening unemployment in the village of Lorino. There is now a small store at the obschina office. Aleksey Ottoy told me that ivory is very popular, and they had many orders from Lorino, Anadyr, and Moscow. He said that they made good money. Vladilen Unuk, the main *obschina* carver, reported to the regional newspaper that Lorino had numerous orders from Chukotka and the mainland via agents or the Internet, but that the obschina did not have enough carvers or space to keep up. In 2012, they were expecting two engravers from Uelen and a bigger location for their workshop (Olegovich 2012). At the end of 2012, my friends in Lorino shared that the carvers took the building of the old elementary school. The TSO Lorino now had more people to work and more orders for walrus carvings. At the same time, a hunter from Sireniki shared that they had used to make carvings in the past, when there were many skillful craftsmen, and even that he still had those skills. When I was in Sireniki they imagined that it would be nice to have a workshop. I could not help but think that at the same moment, the five TSO Lorino carvers were making ivory masterpieces for sale.

The process of managing walrus tusks is also quite different. One morning a boat captain came to the TSO Lorino office to give the *obschina* all the walrus tusks his boat crew had harvested. The lady at the office had a specially organized sheet,

upon which she wrote down the weight, length, and width of the left and right tusks and attached this information with scotch tape onto each of them (see Appendix B). In the Sireniki hunters' office, the tusks lay on the floor, and the newly hired women did not know what to do with them. Anadyr offered help to all TSOs in Chukotka writing grant proposals to "Kupol." Lorino sought out this help and received the necessary processing equipment in 2010, as they wanted to work and make more profit. I assume that under the former chair Veselov, Sireniki hunters did not hear of this offer, as the current chair Valery Skhaugie wishes to apply for the grant money and improve the resource base in TSO Sireniki.

When I left my field sites, I asked the hunters if they needed anything from Alaska that could not be bought in Chukotka. In this way, I could thank them for their time, hospitality, and the knowledge they had shared with me. Sireniki asked me to purchase industrial sinew (sinew is traditionally made of reindeer or bowhead, depending on subsistence patterns) and needles to sew walrus hide for *baidara*. They had created the frame for a cargo skin boat that year and wanted to use it, as it is more suitable for the rough sea. Lorino hunters asked for an ignition coil for their Johnson Evinrude-2000 engine, which is sold in the Unites States and could not be crafted or sold in Chukotka. I took the first request for sinew and needles to the store in Nome, Alaska. The seller asked for whom the goods were meant, and to my surprise, exclaimed "when I was in Sireniki in 1994 they asked for needles; it is 2011 and they still ask for them." Soon after I sent the gifts back to Chukotka, a hunter from Lorino called me to say that his boat crew had received the new ignition coil and they were ready to use the boat. I took this chance to question him about the tools that Lorintsy used to sew walrus hide for boats, and he responded: "Oh, we make the sinew ourselves from the reindeer sinew and use special Chukotka hook to sew hides, I think you saw us doing this when you just came. We trade for materials the reindeer herders of Lorino 'Kaper.'" This process of needles, skin boats, and sinew reveals that Lorino hunters practice within a continuous process of the progressive use of their traditional knowledge and skills

for economic benefits with an outside market of reindeer brigades in other Chukotka districts.

Besides this, TSO Lorino exchanges walrus hides with local herders and sells them to the Anadyr district, which seeks them for boot soils and thongs. Sea mammal hunters, as the largest working group, help "Keper" and "Zapolyar'ye" reindeer enterprises with spring and fall slaughtering. As pay, they get money, meat, or reindeer hide for winter clothes or bed covers, at Akkani. At the time of writing, the *Lorintsy* were considering buying a vacuum machine to enable the provision of whale and walrus meat for those Chukchi and Yupik peoples who live in Anadyr or other cities and cannot get it themselves.

As another subsistence product, TSOs produce so-called walrus meat rolls for villagers and for sale. In the Chukchi language, these are called *kymgyt* (*tukhtak* in Yupik). After butchering the walrus, hunters cut the hide into pieces, arranging some fat, meat, liver, and then sewing it with strip hide. Depending on preferences, walrus roll may go into the pit with water for further fermentation and storage for the winter or may be left without water. The Chukotka government buys these walrus meat rolls for the Chukotka sled dog race "Hope." Here, the Chukotka Government is a client rather than the boss, depending greatly on the local hunters and their resource base. *Obschinas* also provide transportation services. The scientific teams of biologists, anthropologists, and ornithologists who come to Lorino must hire these boats and their crews for transportation to the remote field sites. Contemporary hunters and their new boats become the means of transportation throughout the roadless Chukotka.

The current Lorino and Sireniki *obschina* chairs have contrasting employment and managing experience, and they build relationships with the local and regional markets in different ways. These differences influence wages policies and quantities. Harvest size can push the hunters to hunt more often: the higher the quantity of species, the more 'heads' the chair can put into the accountant's list, and the more money hunters will get at the end of the year. Anna Kerttula gives an

example of this opportunity—in addition to higher wages, the hunters may get "a bonus for each sea mammal brought in" (Kerttula 2000:93). During the season, hunters receive only 30 % of their total wages, but through more attempts at higher bonuses, they get the rest of the money at the end of the year. The monthly wage in Lorino varies from 15,000-17,000 rubles (about $500-$570); at the end of the year, they get the remaining 90,000 to 120,000 rubles (about $3,000-4000). The Lorino *obschina* hunts almost every day, from early morning until five in the evening. Once they fulfill their own quota, they may claim whales from other TSOs that were not taken because of the coming winter or other reasons. For comparison, in 2011, Lorino obschina had a quota of fifty gray and one bowhead whales, while Sireniki could harvest five gray whales and one bowhead whale. After fieldwork in Sireniki, I asked its accountant about the reason for such low wages in Sireniki—roughly half of those in Lorino. It also seemed a contradiction to the fact that Chukotka had tried to increase wages to no less than 12,000 rubles. After our discussion, she explained that 12,000 rubles were only for state organizations, which TSOs was not. Further, Lorino had their ice cellar to keep meat, a main reason why they hunted as much as possible and were able to get their whole quota. Sireniki used only several meat pits and a container for winter and could not hunt very much during the summer, as they did not have a fridge.

I witnessed two cases of walrus hunting in Lorino and Sireniki of note: In the first, which took place in bad weather, the Lorino Chukchi rushed to their boats and chased walrus until there were able to overtake them. The people claim that the call of hunt is in their blood, and in this case of *Lorintsy*, the hunters used every opportunity to get as many species as possible and not only get extra bonuses in salary, but also to satisfy their "blood thirst." This occurred in Akkani, however, without the presence of border guards.

By contrast in Sireniki, on one of the first days of my fieldwork, the Yupik were observing the walrus herd passing by the hunting site, very close to the shore on a nice sunny day, in August 2011. To my great astonishment, nobody rushed to

their boats to chase the animals. There might be several reasons for such behavior. For one, Sireniki hunters were obligated to call the border guards every time they went to sea, and by 10:00, Yupik had not heard from *zastava*. It was also possible that not all the boat captains had come to work. As a result, these hunters went out closer to noon and came back later in the evening at eight. Chukchi from Lorino, by contrast, start their day at eight in the morning, though if the weather is adequate, they start even earlier at seven, ready to load into the boats and go.

Another factor is the spatial relationship of the Lorino and Sireniki villages and their *obschiny*. I believe that it is very important to look at spatial organization and village landscape, and the researched communities are different even in this realm. Lorino placed their so-called modules in the center of the village, right at its entrance. Sireniki put its modules directly on the coast, far from the village center, at the same time creating their double autonomy from the villagers. As a result, family members or old hunters may come to the hunters' cabin, while women and kids are not often guests there. Some informants also mentioned that with the lapse of time, the moving stream of people in Sireniki have become house-to-house oriented.

Another distinct feature exists within the two organizations - documents. During my fieldwork in Lorino, the leader of "Gichivk'ey," an elementary school teacher, and I decided to apply for Kupol Fond money to order new fabrics for *kamleykas* and buy reindeer hides for making dancing boots and special birch rounds for the skin drums. Besides the grant proposal itself, we had to provide some obschina documents. In the case of success, a local agency would receive the money on its account; Ottoy agreed for the TSO to act for "our children". I went to the office to ask for the TSO Lorino Regulation, and the secretary took the copy from her table and gave it to me—she had several copies printed 'just in case.' The situation in Sireniki was different. I had no occasion ask for any TSO Regulation, though during our talk, Skhaugie grabbed some greasy papers with folded tops from tea supply shelf—this was their TSO Regulation. According to Valery Skhaugie, the previous

chair Veselov handed this paper to hunters in May, almost two months before re-election, before which they had never before seen the document.

Chapter 6. Summary and discussion

This work examines the current differences between the Maritime Chukchi village of Lorino and the Yupik/Reindeers Chukchi village of Sireniki, both situated on the coast of the Bering Sea in Chukotka. As of 2011, Lorino represented a cultural, research, and travel hub for its residents and for visitors. Sireniki, for a variety of reasons, did not possess the same traits. The process of investigation outlined here compared these communities by way of local domains such as festivals, sports, native language (Chukchi and Yupik) situations, and sea mammal hunting.

Chapter 2 provides background information about Chukotka and its geography. The chapter describes Chukotka's different stages of cultural history from Tsarist Russia to the present day, as well as its place within the Russian Far East and as a part of its various regions. It also tells about critical social and cultural changes in the lives of the Chukotka indigenous peoples that took place during the last century. Two case studies of the Sireniki and Lorino communities and their social milieu, cultural heritage, and relocation history take place in this chapter as well. Each village has an ethnographic description, identifying its local names, peoples, spatial relationship, and history. The Soviet Union's influence and effects, some of them still visible and meaningful, are also presented there. The long cultural history of the local relationships between Chukotka indigenous peoples, wars, and piece finds its place here too.

The information presented in Chapter 3 compares native celebrations and sport tournaments in Lorino and Sireniki. We can see, for example, that the Chukchi in Lorino are still passionate toward skin-boats and the dog races at community, district, and regional levels, organizing them on their shores. For them, these activities are an inherent part of their everyday life and their identity. Even though they require a good deal of preliminary work, people still claim these activities as an historical part of their way of life. In the case of the skin-boat race, we see that mainly sea mammal hunters carry the responsibly for harvesting animals,

processing the hides, and crafting the actual skin-boats. It is they, again, along with their crews, who participate in the sport tournaments and who inspire young sea mammal hunters. The young *Lorintsy* want to be in the sea and chase whales, paddle oars, and remain in the company of active Akkani hunters. Returning to comparison and history, we see that sports still play an important role in the lives of the Chukchi of Lorino. Sea mammal hunters from Lorino are also the ones who possess dog teams for their spring seal hunt on the ice edge and use them for transportation and participation in the regional dog race, which brings further monetary benefits. In Sireniki, native celebrations are concentrated not on relevant environment such as the seashore or tundra, but rather inside the community, in the *club* or school. Sea mammal hunters are also present in the community, though they remain mainly on hunting grounds and are not invited to these celebrations as a group. Though they remain skillful and knowledgeable when it comes to the sea and subsistence, they do not receive the same acknowledgment as in Lorino. Sireniki hunters stay at their sites, away from the community, thinking about providing meat for the elders and villagers, mostly likely unconcerned with subsistence celebrations, which historically took place in their ancestral place. In this way, they are moving away from the community's cultural and social life, which is now concentrated in such places as the school – an institution not rooted in subsistence. Sport tournaments have also become school-based, no longer primarily outside entertainment. We also learned that even though the Reindeer Chukchi from Sireniki went out to the coast for maritime peoples' celebrations, they took every opportunity to come back to the tundra and the native realms for their ethnic reindeer celebrations such the as *Kil'vey* and *Vylgykaanmat*, which feature singing, dancing, cooking, and their own other tournaments.

Chapter 4 shows that Chukchi use their native language to a large extent. For them it is an ethnic marker, which they use to distinguish themselves from the Russian culture and to call things by their own names—some Chukchi words do not possess analogs in Russian. Even though Chukotka does not have software to enable

its indigenous peoples to study and use their languages on a digital level, questionnaires demonstrate that both Chukchi and Yupik still use their native languages in different settings such as the sea, tundra, and school, and still entrust teaching itself to parents and grandparents. Lorino possesses the hunting camp Akkani, which serves as a Chukchi language nest and inspires hunters and youth to use the language as a tool of instruction and order in their everyday talks during the hunting season or recreation times. Sireniki possesses no similar site to bring together adults and children for subsistence activity and offer an alternative to the dominant language. Yupik hunters do use their native language, though on a very small scale. In both case studies, the role of the school is formal—it does not offer the necessary educational literature and cannot offer professional, experienced, fluent teachers, especially in the case of the Eskimo language teacher in Sireniki, who is from Novoe Chaplino.

Chapter 5 describes and compares the domain that has emerged as a result of a deeper exploration of the public festivals in both Sireniki and Lorino. Whereas Chapters 3 and 4 present differences between Lorino and Sireniki, Chapter 5 sheds light on the actors behind those differences. Three weeks of fieldwork in Lorino focused upon festivals and sport tournaments at the shore, where sea mammal hunters were making skin-boats. From the outset, this part of the community seemed invisible, though during harvesting season of whale or walrus butchering, and during cultural activities or gatherings, sea mammal hunters appear in their essential roles. As if from the past, boat captains led their small settlements from responsibilities of seasonal subsistence activities to a continuity of cultural practices.

Lorintsy claimed that any cultural celebrations in the village are only possible because of boat captains' participation and engagement. Each boat crew has its leader, or several of them, who each take responsibility for some festival preparation. Though Sireniki also has sea mammal hunters and the same professional *obschina* unit, their public festival situation is quite different. The

community argues the discrepancy has been because elders have died, creating a gap in the transfer of necessary knowledge and behavior patterns. People of Sireniki claimed that they did not have anyone currently acting as an informal leader who might bring people together and revive cultural celebrations. *Sirenikovtsy* named old hunters from the past and their mothers, all of who had died before 2000. As opposed to Sireniki, without much trouble, *Lorintsy* were able to name several current hunter families with strong leadership skills. Even their guest Math teacher knew the same family names, though she had left Lorino 30 years before my research. *Lorintsy* need not revisit the past to remember the prosperous time of *kolkhoz* or *sovkhoz*—they remain in the present, striving to live as they did before state relocation. Lorino and Sireniki hunters' *obschiny* are also distinguished from one another in their subsistence practices, marketing, and cultural activities.

As official leaders, the soviet *kolkhoz* and *sovkhoz* directors were mentioned as a driving force for the cultural and economic benefits of that time. The Soviet government had not only addressed better methods of bringing reindeer herding and sea mammal-hunting onto a market level, but they also emphasized cultural life, and had built the community centers especially for this purpose. Sireniki informants argued that life in the village was better at that time is worse today, without the fur farm and *kolkhoz*. To my question about why *Lorintsy* were so active, one informant from Anadyr guessed that Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian agricultural leaders had imparted the so-called "wish for innovations" to *Lorintsy*, which "killed Lorino tundra, but helped a lot to the marine mammal hunters: fur farms, marine meat processing and ice cellar," – all the elements found in today's Lorino. Zdor argued that Lorino had "good credit history." Sireniki seemed to have also had similar innovations, though none of them remained in 2011: the fur farm was no longer functional; the village cold storage was broken. Even though Sireniki had also clearly possessed "good credit history"—perhaps even better than Lorino, as *kolkhoz "Udarnik"* and the village were the model farm and the model community—realities today are very different. Lorino *obschina*, through their economic pursuits such as

making *baidaras* for museums, harvesting walrus ivory for souvenirs, and exchange with the Reindeer Chukchi, is pursuing a better life for their organization, personal wealth for individual members, and community well-being. The current chair of the Lorino obschina stated that, compared to their past *sovkhoz* employment, their new independent status made hunters more responsible and creative, for the purpose of retrieving more benefit from traditional subsistence—"first they were shy, but now they offered more and more during our meetings." The contemporary leader of the Sireniki hunters has less experience in management, and this may be one of the reasons that the Sireniki obschina is not as economically successful and does not participate in community ethnic celebrations. Sireniki Reindeer Chukchi do not represent any cultural activity within the village, and still dream of going back to the tundra and their independent life. No one from *Sirenikovtsy* could remember any Chukchi celebration in the village, as they had continued to travel to the tundra for such activities instead.

My comparative method of inquiry and fieldwork analyses illuminated some other findings and extra domains of difference among literature, interviews, everyday chats, and language questionnaires. For instance, some may answer the research question regarding the existing difference between communities with the simple word 'demography,' and there is some truth to this. According to the Russian Census 2010, there were 15,908 Chukchi and 1,738 Yupik in Russia (Russian Census 2010), while 12,772 and 1,529 of them, respectively, lived in Chukotka (Russian Census 2010). Chukchi dominates Yupik in population size almost ten times. The situation with native languages is similar—5,095 people speak Chukchi vs. 508 who speak Yupik (Russian Census 2010). Chukchi is the major non-Russian ethnic group in Chukotka; this large administrative entity of Russia was named after them. Maritime Chukchi dominated in Lorino, though the Reindeer Chukchi in Sireniki did not.

Another factor affecting the difference in cultural expression is the communities' geography. Though both coastal, the villages are somewhat dissimilar.

Lorino in Chukchi means "place which was seen or found," evoking its location, which is very convenient from both the sea and land. It may be true that thanks to adjacent river, Lorinka people have more convenient access to the open sea. Sireniki, on the other hand, has no similar river bend to enable the protection of boats and paddling practice. On the contrary, they have open sea access, which provides them a year-round hunting environment, but little in the way of skin-boat practices. Nevertheless, several informants from Sireniki and a YouTube video recording (Whale day 1988) provided evidence of skin-boat races there, in spite of its geography. Bogoraz (1904), Ainana et al (2003), and Krupnik (2003) told us that Sireniki had represented the heart of skin-boat crafting, and illustrations from Ainana et al (2003) demonstrate all stages of skin-boat construction taking place in Sireniki, not in Lorino. Sireniki had seen no change over time with respect to its open access to the sea and in fact, this had made them famous throughout the Chukchi Peninsula coast as "wave riders" (Lemeshev 2011). Hence, there must be other factors that influence the continuity of baidara crafting and racing, besides the rough sea.

According to some sources, sled dog racing was not popular in Sireniki for several reasons, with geography being one of them. First, hunters did not need dogs during the spring hunt, as there was no ice, due to *Sirenikovskaya polyniya*. As a result, hunters simply walked and carried their catch by themselves. Another factor is more historical. After state relocation, Yupik marine mammal hunters on the coast lost their exchange partners among the Reindeer Chukchi on the tundra and as a result, the two communities had no reason to visit each other on personal dog sleds—no longer bringing walrus hides or seal thongs to trade for reindeer meat and skin. Further, it was stated that snow machines and tractors have made people in Sireniki 'lazy.' The chart by Ludmila Bogoslovskaya (2011) shows that people from Sireniki have never participated in the Sled Dog Race "Nadezhda" during its 20-year history.

Besides demography and geography, the Lorino and Sireniki communities continue to experience the legacy of their centuries-old *cultural history*, which includes the movement of the Chukchi people from the mainland to the coasts and the adaptation to the new habitats of coastal life. According to Mikhail Zelensky, the head of the Chukotsky district, the Chukchi people survived because they accomplished two ways of subsistence—reindeer herding and sea mammal hunting. In the mixed communities of Chukotka (at least in those where I lived), ethnic identity politics is today a part of everyday discourse: elementary and high school students, along with their parents, mentioned this issue, as well as the fact that such concerns exist not only in schools. It may also be possible that respective cultural history play a very large and similar role today, across the communities.

Trying not to overlook a range of diverse and nuanced factors, we can nevertheless point to the state relocation as an origin of festivals, sports, and language discontinuity, as well as successful subsistence derivatives of Sireniki. The system of *kolkhoz* brought together branches from Naukan, Akkani, and Nuniamo into a single place—the Lorino village in the Chukotsky district—by the 1970s. The majority of the resettled population was Maritime Chukchi, mostly siblings. Some of them moved to Lorino based on their kinship and friendship connections. Reindeer Chukchi from Yandogay were also resettled in Lorino, though they stayed (and still stay) in the realm of the "Keper" municipal enterprise. The *Kolkhoz* "Lenin" united Maritime and Reindeer Chukchi, along with their traditional subsistence occupations. The Sireniki fate was different. By the 1950s, the residents of small Yupik settlements such as Avan and Plover were moved to the century-old site in Sireniki, where Eskimos had practiced sea mammal hunting. However, a decade later, Soviet government resettled Reindeer Chukchi from the Kurupka River to Sireniki, bringing reindeer herding into the kolkhoz "Udarnik" and the people themselves to the new coastal environment of the Bering Sea. Even though at the beginning, the Chukchi set up their skin tents on the tundra adjacent to the Yupik site, they later moved into the houses and streets built for them. In the Sireniki case,

we have two communities of Yupik and Reindeer Chukchi within one settlement, and this cultural history seemingly still plays a role in community development.

The relocation policy divided Sireniki into three groups—Yupik, Reindeer Chukchi, and newcomers. Since relocation, resident groups there had different places to practice their culture: Yupik on the sea shore, Chukchi on the tundra, and Russians in their special building. Even though the Soviet government built a community center for all residents, today the building is inoperative, and there is no common place for gatherings. In spite of the cultural history of long-term friendship between the Yupik and Reindeer Chukchi, they still divide their dead into seven cemeteries. The very respected and knowledgeable elder community leaders have died, and no comparable leaders have emerged among the younger generations. Further, current Sireniki villagers are certain that none of their current leaders would be able to organize their people—this includes the current mayor, the director of the community center, and their marine mammal hunters. *Sirenikovtsy* did not name any of the hunters as a community leader, though they did hope that the new *obschina* chair could eventually become one. It also appears that the current mayor, from Sakha, is so busy keeping the village heated and fed, processing passport papers, and ensuring attendance during elections that the cultural, spiritual, and ethnic life of the Yupik and Reindeer Chukchi is less significant to her. Besides the presence of sea mammal hunters and the ""Kig'yak"" dancing group, there is nothing else to signify the native community's identity: no language use, no traditional ceremonies, and no gathering place for the community to come together in Sireniki.

In stark contrast, Lorino possesses all of the above-mentioned characteristics to promote Chukchi culture. Leaders among the sea mammal hunters take great responsibility for the continuity of the Chukchi way of life, displaying it publicly in the form of regional skin boat and dog races. The contemporary Maritime Chukchi from the closed settlement of Akkani, the majority in Lorino, represent these particular indigenous peoples' power over their own fate. Relocation brought

Chukchi from the nearest settlements, the collection of whom were able to create a coherent society, in which people support each other and maintain a local identity. By their own testimony, if they were to cease traditional subsistence, they would lose the meaning of life and their identity—they would stop being Chukchi. In this regard, they engage in cultural activities with all the passion they have, and they give their time to train and live beside their youth. Both villages have had similar subsistence opportunities, by way of past new equipment and federal support, and both have had the same "good credit history" in the past. The presence of the strong leadership and unity has had effects from the personal to the communal, leading to Lorino people being more interested in practicing and maintaining the skin-boat and sled-dog races, Arctic sports, the Chukchi language, and increased economic benefits from their subsistence activities. Akkani hunters, along with other Chukchi from closed coastal settlements, have made Lorino their new home and have created a coherent community, to which people wish to come and experience life. People still come to Lorino because it is a good place and offers opportunities. An elementary school teacher born in Neshkan, for example, came to Lorino after her graduation from Saint Petersburg, as she had heard about the *Lorintsy* and their active life statements.

My initial intention to discuss ethnic festivals revealed more than just a comparison of dancing, clothing, and sports. In fact, such Chukotka festivals as the "Beringia," "Nadezhda," and Whale Days may present an indicator of community well-being for further investigation. Underlying the annual formal and informal celebrations in the Chukotka communities are the wish to entertain, perform, show costumes, bring a community together, represent ethnic customs and traditions, and cook and share cuisine. Hence, these festivals have become a special space in which people come together occasionally to share something in common, such as language and subsistence practices. These festivals still present a variety of cultures and languages, and in this case, an ethnic component presents an identity that participants feel it is important to maintain.

As reflected in the title and the entire body of this work, the information that I gathered and the analysis I pursued have been inspired by one overreaching question: why are Lorino and Sireniki so different? Reflecting critically, through the lens of newly gained understandings, I realize that my initial bafflement over their contrasts was based upon the faulty expectation that they somehow should be more similar than they are. Nonetheless, the ensuing journey has led me through an exploration of cultural festivals, local sports, and native languages of Lorino and Sireniki, and further to friendships I now treasure in both communities, transforming perceptions I once had and hopefully laying groundwork toward future collaboration. Perhaps when a genuine desire to understand is nourished by the opportunity to explore and learn, one can embark upon a right kind of path by asking a wrong kind of question.

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Appendix A The study area

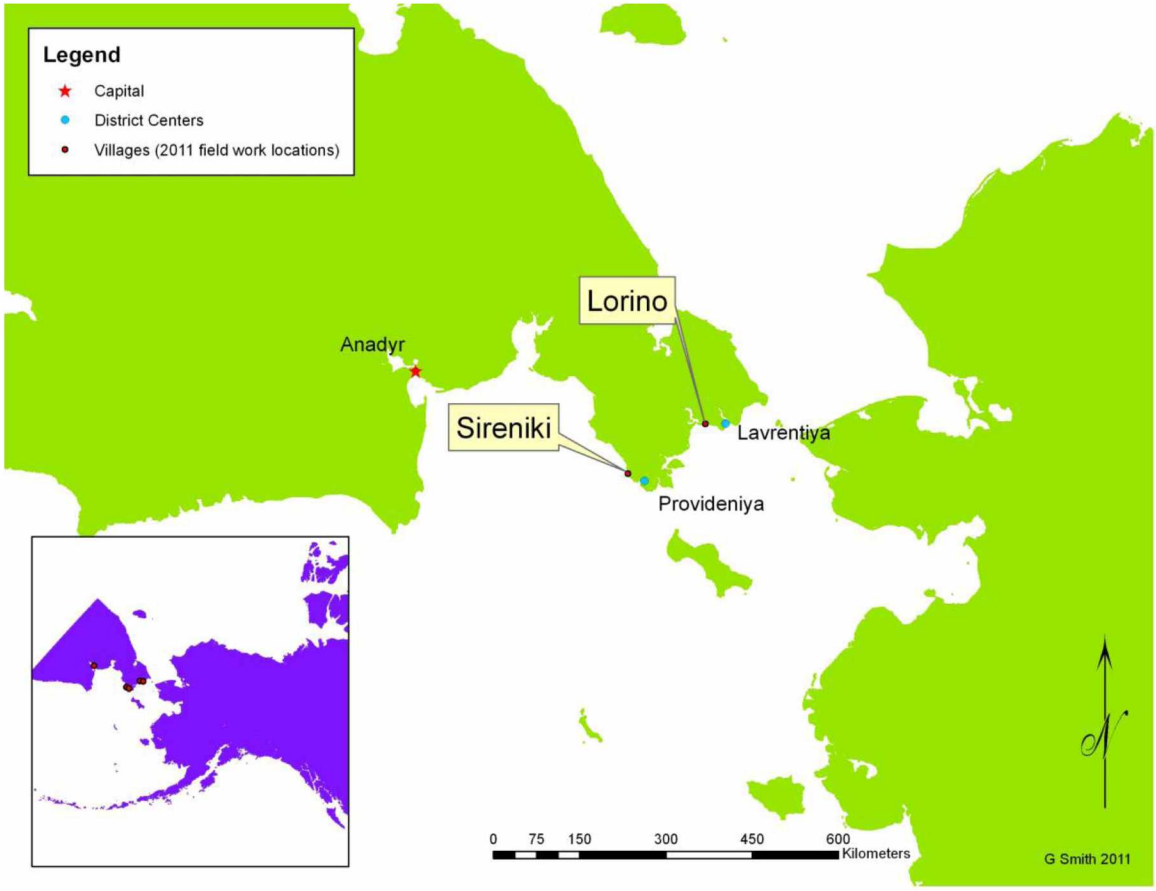

Figure A-1 The study aria (Gerad Smith 2011)

Appendix B A set of pictures from the Lorino community, Chukotka. 2011

Figure B-1 Lorino village

Figure B-2 Community center in Lorino with public library and local administration inside

Figure B-3 Lorino hunters after coming back from Akkani

Figure B-4 After the walrus hunt in Akakni: hunters and children

Figure B-5 Skin-boat race on the Whale day

Figure B-6 Wrestling competition on the Whale day

Figure B-7 Triple jump

Figure B-8 Whale day competitions

Figure B-9 Spring seal hunt on the sea ice. Photo credit to Natasha Kalyuzhina

Figure B-10 Walrus tusks are ready to go to the engravers

Figure B-11 Children practicing throwing a harpoon

Figure B-12 Akkani hunting camp: a language nest

Figure B-13 Sled dogs outside of Lorino

Figure B-14 The chair of the obshchina awards skin-boat race winners

Figure B-15 Fox farm in Lorino

Figure B-16 Dancing group "Gichiv'key" on the Whale Day

Figure B-17 Hunters' meeting in the community center before "Beringia 2011"

Appendix C A set of pictures from the Sireniki community in 2011 and archived images from 1988

Figure C-1 Sireniki from the sea

Figure C-2 The building of the community center in Sireniki

Figure C-3 Sireniki hunters are going to the sea

Figure C-4 After a successful hunt

Figure C-5 Whale day 1988. Provideniya Museum Archives

Figure C-6 Whale day 1988. Provideniya Museum Archives

Figure C-7 Wrestling on the Whale day 1988. Provideniya Museum Archives

Figure C-8 Playing soccer on the Village Day in 2011

Figure C-9 Village Day 2011

Figure C-10 Whale Day celebration in 1988. Provideniya Museum Archives

Figure C-11 A Sireniki hunter is going on a seal hunt. Photo by Sergey Kalayantonau.

Figure C-12 Children playing hide and seek

Figure C-13 Dancing practice in the Community center in 2008

Figure C-14 Skillful hunters near a seal float

Figure C-15 Making a poster for the Village day

Figure C-16 Dance practice before Village day

Figure C-17 Cargo skin-boat frame

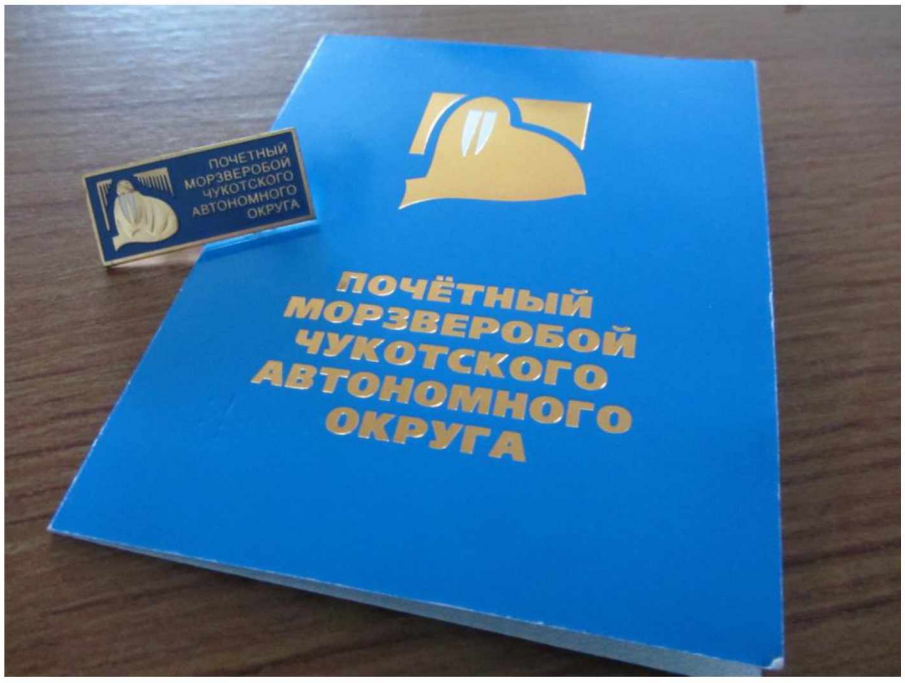

Figure C-18 An acknowledgment of an Sireniki hunter by the Governor of Chukotka

Appendix D Language questionnaire in English.

1. In what village do you live? _____
2. What is your age? _____
3. What languages do you speak? _____
4. What was the first language you spoke?_____
5. What language do you feel most comfortable in?_____
6. What is your sex, female or male? _____
7. What language do your parents use? _____
8. Where do you usually hear your language spoken?_____
9. Where do you usually speak your native language?

- At home _____
- At school _____
- During the hunt _____
- During hiking _____
- On the street with peers_____
- Other _____

10. Who talks to you in your native language usually?

- Teachers at school
- Your parents at home
- Your grandparents
- Your friend
- Other

11. In my native language I:

- Can carry on conversation
- Tell stories
- Build sentences
- Know some words
- Write SMS to my friends
- Don't know any word

12. Can you read in your native language?_____

13. Can you write in your native language?_____

14. Are there intermarriages in your village?_____

15. Is there anything in Chukchi or Yupik which cannot be expressed in Russian?

_____

16. Do you use Chukchi/Yupik to separate yourself from Russian culture? Explain when.

_____

17. Who do you think should teach children their native language?

_____

18. Would you like your children to speak?_____

19. Is there Chukchi/Yupik culture without a language?_____

Appendix E Вопросы по родному языку

1. В каком селе Вы живете? _____
2. Сколько Вам лет ? _____
3. На каком языке Вы говорите? _____
4. Который из языков был Вашим первым?_____
5. Какой язык Вам более удобно использовать?_____
6. Укажите свой пол, мужской или женский? _____
7. На каком языке говорят/говорили Ваши родители? _____
8. Где можно услышать родную речь?_____
9. Где Вы обычно говорите на родном языке?

- дома _____
- в школе _____
- на охоте _____
- в тундре _____
- на улице со сверстниками_____
- другое (укажите) _____

10. Кто обычно разговаривает с Вами на родном языке?

- учителя в школе_____
- родители дома _____
- бабушки и дедушки _____
- друзья _____
- другое (укажите)

11. На своем родном языке я:

- могу поддерживать беседу

- рассказывать истории
- строить предложения
- знаю несколько слов
- писать SMS своим друзьям
- ни знаю ни одного слова

12. Вы можете читать на родном языке?_____
13. Вы можете писать на родном языке?_____
14. В селе есть смешанные браки?_____
15. Есть ли в Чукотском (Эскимосском) то, что нельзя перевести на русский?

    _____

16. Вы используете Чукотский (Эскимосский) чтобы отделить себя от русской культуры? Объясните когда?_____
17. Кто по Вашему мнению должен учить детей родному языку? _____
18. Вы бы хотели, чтобы Ваши дети говорили на родном языке?_____
19. Как Вы думаете есть ли чукотская/эскимосская культура без языка?_____